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JOHN SMALLEY.

THE life of Rev. John Smalley, D. D., who was for sixty-two years a settled minister over the First Congregational Church, New Britain, Conn., leads us back into the religious heart of New England in the last century, and exhibits a characteristic pastorate and parish of the olden time. His ministry was a model one, according to the high standard then prevalent, and affords a picture of the life and habits and customs of that age which was unique, even in New England. His life, from first to last, moved in the regulation routine of that period, meeting ably the heavy demands laid upon the ministry, and overflowing beneficently on every side. He was a progressive theologian and "new divinity man" of the Edwardean-Calvinistic type, standing in line with the best thinkers of his time, and by means of his genius for patient painstaking *work*, — the only genius he had, — he became eminent among the deservedly eminent in that little corner of the world where God was preparing the schoolmasters for a continent.

In his parentage and birthplace, in his early pastor and theological teacher, in his settlement and household, in his preaching and ministerial neighbors, in the students he taught, and in the books he wrote, he was noticeably fortunate, and came in contact with, and helped to exert, influences which were among the most important in the last century. The scenes in the midst of which he wrought lie in the stillness and silence

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of a past generation ; yet we cannot uncover these ancient customs of religious thought and work without finding them exceedingly refreshing and "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

One of the many praiseworthy services rendered by this "Quarterly," has been to keep fresh the memory of notable New-England divines. It has been thought altogether fitting that Dr. Smalley should have a place here with his great contemporaries, Edwards and Bellamy and Emmons. Yet what might properly fill a volume must be condensed into a few pages.

Rev. John Smalley, D. D., was the only son and child, so far as it appears, of Mr. Benjamin Smalley and Mary his wife. Benjamin Smalley was born in England, of humble parents, and brought up a weaver. He came to this country in early life, and married Miss Lydia Allen, of Litchfield, Conn. This brought him into connection with the famous Allen family, whose names are so intimately interwoven with the colonial history of Vermont. Mrs. Smalley was a sister of Joseph Allen, the father of the redoubtable Col. Ethan Allen, who took Fort Ticonderoga in "the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and of Ira Allen, an eminent civilian, and soldier of the Revolution ; and he was the ancestor of Hon. Hernan Allen, formerly minister to Chili. Mrs. Smalley died early and without issue, when Mr. Smalley married Mary Baker, of Cornwall, Conn., a relative of the Allens, and a name also honored in the early history of the Green Mountain State. Remember Baker was among the stanchest of the frontier patriots, when patriotism in Vermont consisted in administering the "beech seal" to trespassing New-Yorkers, as well as in harrying and capturing the red-coated forces of General Burgoyne.

This second wife of Benjamin Smalley, the English weaver, was the mother of Dr. Smalley. His parents were plain, industrious, pious people, and made for their son a happy, godly home.

Especially spiritually-minded and devout was the mother Mary, distinguished through a long life for the symmetry and beauty of her Christian character. On their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Smalley moved to Lebanon, Conn., Colum-

bia parish, where John, the subject of this sketch, was born, June 4, 1734, seven years after the settlement of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton.

A century ago, Lebanon, like Litchfield, Conn., was one of the great centres of culture and influence in the State. It was the residence of His Excellency Jonathan Trumbull, the great war governor of Connecticut, and intimate friend and counsellor of Washington in the days of the Revolution, as it was the birthplace of His Excellency William G. Buckingham, the good war governor of Connecticut, and intimate friend and counsellor of President Lincoln in the days of the Rebellion. It was the home of William Williams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; of Col. Trumbull, the painter, and Aid of Washington; and of other distinguished men. The names of the sons and daughters that have gone out from this quiet rural township, to fill useful and honorable positions in every sphere of society, would constitute a long and interesting catalogue. Its population to-day is but a handful, yet it has sent out at least fifty-three clergymen, among whom are such names as Rev. John Smalley, D. D., Rev. John Wheelock, LL. D., Rev. Samson Occum, Rev. Elijah Parish, D. D., and Rev. Walter Harris, D. D.

Lebanon was one of a cluster of towns in the same neighborhood where the theological giants in those days were born. Rev. Joseph Bellamy, D. D., the theological *teacher* of Dr. Smalley, and for fifty years the distinguished pastor of the church in Bethlehem, Conn., was born in the neighboring town of Cheshire, fifteen years before young Smalley. Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., the theological *pupil* of Dr. Smalley, and for fifty-four years the famous pastor of the church in Franklin, Mass., was born in the neighboring town of East Haddam, eleven years after the birth of Smalley. President Edward Dorr Griffin, D. D., was also born at East Haddam. Rev. David Brainerd, the celebrated missionary to the Indians in New Jersey, was born at Haddam sixteen years before the birth of Smalley. This town of Haddam has raised up ten ministers bearing the sainted name of the apostle to the Indians. Here, also, the sons of Rev. David D. Field, D. D., were born, — Rev. Henry M. Field, editor of the "New York

Evangelist," Hon. Cyrus W. Field, who laid the Atlantic cable, and David Dudley Field, Esq., of New York city.

One year after the birth of Dr. Smalley, Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D. D., was settled over this parish of Columbia, in the town of Lebanon, and exercised there for thirty-five years an effective and powerful ministry. He began his work in 1735, — just previous to the "Great Awakening," — and he became an earnest and successful colaborer with President Edwards. His own people shared largely in the blessing which everywhere attended his labors. After the manner of his time he taught pupils who came to his house, and was constantly seeking the young men in his parish who were as "beautiful rods," and starting them in the way of a college education. One day in December, 1743, Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian boy, aged about nineteen years, came to his study, and asked to enter his school. He was received by Dr. Wheelock into his family, where he remained five years, was educated, converted to Christianity, and became a very celebrated preacher in this country and in Great Britain. Other Indian boys came, and this led to the founding of "Moore's Indian Charity School" in Lebanon in 1755, which, after fifteen prosperous years, was removed, in 1770, to Hanover, New Hampshire, and grew into Dartmouth College, over which Dr. Wheelock, leaving Lebanon, became the first President; his son, John Wheelock, LL. D., succeeding him in the same office, which he held for thirty-six years. Dartmouth College has long been one of the great educational forces of the country. What a harvest to grow out of the visit of a timid Indian boy to a pastor's study!

But Dr. Wheelock came in contact with another boy whose destiny he shaped, and through whom his influence will never cease to live. The Smalley family had received large benefit and blessing from the ministry of their godly pastor. Their son John, an infant when Dr. Wheelock came to the parish, had grown up under him, and had his mind powerfully stirred by the gospel themes upon which Dr. Wheelock discoursed.

The faithful instructions and influence of his devoted mother were in happy accord with those of his pastor, and they both saw their desires speedily fulfilled. Coming into the house one day at an unusual hour, John found his mother kneeling in

earnest prayer for him. He was melted in contrition for sin, and began to pray himself for pardon and peace. Thus his Christian life began at an early age, and without that prolonged struggle for reconciliation with God which many of his associates passed through.

Observing that he was a young man of much promise, Dr. Wheelock laid his hand on his head affectionately, one day, and said, "John, come to my study with a Latin grammar, and I will fit you for college." John, although he had begun to learn a trade, joyously responded, with the approval of his parents, and was fitted for college by this able and beloved minister. His studies at the parsonage brought him into connection with some twenty Indian boys, besides other young men in the parish who were studying under their pastor, most of whom became hopefully converted. These days, therefore, were passed in the midst of the most quickening religious and missionary influence. He entered Yale College in 1752, at the age of eighteen.

In college his piety was very much deepened and intensified by what he often spoke of as a second conversion; so that from the hour that Dr. Wheelock invited him to come to his study with the Latin grammar, there was never any doubt in his mind as to what his life-work would be. His mother, on her knees, had consecrated him to the ministry of the reconciliation.

While he was in college, his father became pecuniarily embarrassed, and could no longer meet the expenses of his son. He moved to Vermont with his family, where the Allens and Bakers had already gone, but soon died and was buried there, and his wife Mary returned to her old home in Cornwall, Conn., to live among her relatives. Meanwhile, the son in Yale College was not left without support. Dr. Stiles saw his promise, and generously aided him to finish his course and graduate with honor in 1756, at the age of twenty-two.

After graduation, he joined his mother at Cornwall, and they both united with the church there. Rev. Hezekiah Gold, for thirty-five years the able and successful pastor of that church, became a valuable friend and counsellor of this widowed mother and the child of her hopes and prayers.

Upheld and led by the "God of covenants and atonements,"

this weaver's son now turned his face towards the hills of Bethlehem, where the wonderful Dr. Bellamy was "prophet, priest, and king" of a parish that gloried in him, and argued at a red heat with him for half a century.

In that day this was the Mecca of divinity students in Connecticut. After Dr. Emmons, no divine, it is believed, has fitted so many students for the ministry as Dr. Bellamy. At this parsonage, — surrounded by fresh clover fields, the great doctor sitting among the young men, not the young men among the doctors, as now at the seminary, — heresies were exposed, philosophical difficulties created and solved, and all the churches made to buzz with the discussion of the last new bulletin which came in form of subtle doctrinal problem, or acute metaphysical proposition, from this school of the prophets. Dr. Bellamy was a very Daniel in the "shewing of hard sentences and dissolving of doubts," and there was no "dream" of error which he could not interpret, nor "brazen image set up" by any unsound divine which he could not take down, and show the *clay* in the feet. Here the "true religion was delineated." In this school Dr. Smalley sharpened his mind for clear definition and discriminating statement. Here he found his "gospel scheme," and eventually his wife; for buckwheat fields would bloom in the parish, and maiden cheeks grow fresh and rosy, in spite of the drastic theology and the white light of metaphysics.

Having finished his studies in 1757, the year after his graduation, and been licensed by the Litchfield South Association, he was ready to undertake the great work of the ministry, and, unlike the cases of Samuel Hopkins and Emmons, so soon as he was ready the work came.

In the northern part of the town of Berlin, Conn., there was a fine rich farming district, called New Britain, now an intelligent and wealthy manufacturing city of twelve thousand people. A small society had been formed there of members set off from the church and society in Kensington, another parish in Berlin. This New-Britain society was a lineal descendant of the band of godly men and women who came through the wilderness from Newtown, Mass., in 1636, under Pastor Hooker and Teacher Stone, to found the first church in Hartford. From

Hartford, a band went to Farmington, from Farmington to Kensington, and from Kensington to New Britain. Out of the church at Farmington fifteen churches have sprung, and the first church in New Britain is a granddaughter. This young society of New Britain, having heard Rev. John Smalley as a "probationer," voted unanimously, January 9, 1758, to "gather a church," and settle him in the ministry, "provided the approbation of the Reverend Hartford South Association could be obtained." This was within a short time after Mr. Smalley's licensure, and I cannot find that he preached at any other place. He was voted a settlement of £150 lawful money. Ordination then was marriage for life usually in that cluster of churches, and the "settlement" voted was the marriage dowry.

A salary of £50 a year for three years, and after that, £60 a year and twenty cords of firewood, were offered. In time, the salary was raised to £80 per annum, where it remained for thirty years. Mr. Smalley accepted this call, and the church was gathered, and the coming man ordained over the church, April 19, 1768. This great life-work he commenced when he was within two months of twenty-four years, and from that hour he carried increasing burdens as pastor, preacher, theological instructor and author, for fifty-two years, preaching occasionally for fifty-five years, remaining with his people sixty-two years, and dying and being buried with them at eighty-six years of age.

There was amazing toughness in him of mind and body, and of steady hard work he never wearied. Let us look in upon him and see him among his people and in his varied work. Everything wears a good, healthy look. His home was always a pleasant one. Mr. Smalley was unmarried when he came to his people. But he bought a house and farm for £300, and invited his beloved mother to come down from Cornwall and make her home with him, and be near him with her counsels and prayers. When he had his new duties well in hand, he was married to Miss Sarah Garnsey, of Bethlehem, who was six years younger than himself, and with whom he lived forty-four years, till she died. His mother married a worthy citizen, Samuel Galpin, of Kensington, and lived and died near her son. Mrs. Smalley was an energetic Christian woman, and a practi-

cal, frugal housewife. Six children were born unto them, all daughters. They spun flax and wool, and wove cloth, and made butter and cheese, and baked and brewed, and taught school, and thrived apace. Industry and economy and good sense prevailed. The doctor's purse rounded out, like his person, with increasing years. He loaned money, "kept one hundred and fifty head of cattle," according to President Stiles, and became "one of the wealthy ministers of the State."

Two of his daughters died in infancy. Two married worthy parishoners of their father, Roger Whittlesey, Esq., and David Whittlesey, a deacon in the church, and the first superintendent of the Sunday school; and two married theological students in their father's family, Mary becoming the wife of Rev. Isaac Porter, who was settled fifty years at Granby, Conn.; and Sarah, the wife of Rev. Israel B. Woodward, of Wolcott, Conn. Dr. Smalley left no heir to bear his name to posterity.

The parish of Dr. Smalley lies in the beautiful valley of the Connecticut, and among the finest New-England scenery. President Dwight, in his volumes of travel, draws the following picture of it, which will be read with interest: "No township within my knowledge, which does not border upon the ocean, or lake, or large river, is equally beautiful with this. It is composed almost wholly of a vast basin, studded with several fine eminences and the acclivities by which it is surrounded. The noble bluffs of the Blue Mountains in Southington is at the distance of ten miles; Farmington, west, five miles; West Mount, fifteen; and the peak of Mt. Tom, forty-five. The basin itself is a scoop of singular beauty and elegance. The soil is of the richest kind, the groves thrifty, the vegetation luxuriant, and the interspersions of churches, houses, and fields delightful."

The leading families of Dr. Smalley's parish were men and women of great excellence and worth, and his congregation constantly increased in intelligence and wealth and numbers. The hum of manufacture greeted his ears before he died, indicating the entire change that was to come over the town in its transition from a farming parish to a thriving business community. But he died too soon to appreciate the value of the foundations he laid for the multitudes following. The momentum of his noble work has kept right on through half a century

since his death, and the young city built on his foundation is one of the most orderly and benevolent and active in all Christian work in New England. The vase is broken, but the savor of his life abides there. Their house is builded on a rock. The new meeting-house where he preached, and which was afterwards repaired, was a good specimen of a house of worship in Connecticut one hundred years ago. An interesting account of it has been given by Deacon Alfred Andrews, of New Britain, to whom I am indebted for many facts in this article, and who has done great service by his faithful gleanings in the field of ecclesiastical history in his vicinity.

"The house was very plain, about eighty by sixty-four feet in size, with steep roof, without bell or belfry or cupola, and resembled in size or shape, except for the doors and windows, a nice, large barn. We have not the means of knowing how it was finished inside at its first building. It was 'built over' outside and painted immediately after the great revival of 1784-5, at an expense of some £90 or more. The house had large galleries; the two 'high pews,' one at each extreme corner, to the right and left of the pulpit, in the galleries, were so much raised as to require stairs to ascend and descend, and so high that a tall man could scarcely stand in the pew erect without touching his scalp to the wall overhead.

"The pulpit was built on the side of the house (opposite a large double front door with large bull's eyes inserted), and had a huge 'sounding board' impending; the enclosure was small, and had a door each side, with a wooden button, and stairs on each side with railing. The body of the pulpit was ornamented with carved vine, with leaves and grapes (a wonder to the children). There was a seat for the deacons, under the front of the pulpit, between it and a communion table, which was made by a plain board hung with hinges on the railing of the seat, and when raised was supported with two curiously twisted 'iron braces.' A large but single door opened at each end of the house, and stairs led to the male side of the gallery at the extreme right corner of the minister, and a corresponding flight to the female side, on his left hand. The broad aisle (leading from the broad front door to the pulpit), in which stood our grandfathers and mothers when they entered into covenant

with God and the church, was a solemn place. It was not carpeted, but it received many tears of penitence, both from those joining the church, and from such as fell into gross sins and stood there while their public confession was being read. Then there was a narrow aisle leading quite round the house, leaving one tier of pews joining the wall, and leaving inside two squares called the 'square body.' These pews or pens were made square, with straight backs; top made with open work, and banisters inserted some eight inches apart, and seats extending quite round on every side, except barely the door, which was narrow, and fastened with a wooden button. The occupants faced inwards; of course some would sit with their backs to the speaker, and hence the habit of standing part of the time during the sermon, which was in the olden time from one to two hours long. The hour-glass which stood on the pulpit was turned at the reading of the text, and the audience felt slighted if the sermon ended before the sands had all dropped.

"The meeting-house was warmed chiefly by the sun; for a chimney, stove, or furnace was unknown for that purpose in those days. A poor substitute, however, was resorted to from necessity, namely, the 'foot-stove' and the 'Sabba-day house.' The matron of each family was careful in the coldest weather to have the foot-stove well prepared with living coals from the home hearthstone. The 'Sabba-day' houses were about sixteen feet square, with a small window on three sides, and chimney built of stone, or perhaps part brick, on the outside, with a large fire-place attached. This room was furnished with rough seats, and here the short intermission between the services was spent in mutual greetings, inquiries after health, and perhaps comments on the morning sermon.

"The sheds to protect the horses stood near by; and with all these appendages at the right and left wings to the meeting-house,—the grand old oaks, the rocks and boulders cropping out in great profusion,—the meeting-house yard was a place of great interest. It was the holy 'hill of Zion' to the parish; 'thither the tribes went up' by five different roads, or 'lanes,' which centred there. It was never called the park, or the green, but the 'parade,' and was used as a military parade,

from the days of the French war of 1762, through the Revolution, and down to the close of the war with England, February, 1815."

The great cause of Dr. Smalley's success was his conscientious faithfulness as a Bible student and preacher. He was a master of assemblies, because he carried the beaten oil of God's word into the pulpit, and led and fed his flock, "because he was *wise*," and "sought diligently to find out acceptable words." As an expounder of the great doctrines of salvation, "he still taught the people knowledge." This retained for him his position. This brought students to him and led him into authorship. This caused him to be sought after for counsel, far and near. His mind was not brilliant. He never was an eloquent speaker. He was large and tall, with a fine figure and dignified and commanding appearance; yet in the pulpit his "voice was nasal, his manner stiff, and his gestures awkward." He read his sermons from a little manuscript held near his eyes, — a tithing-man keeping the children in order with a rod, — and there was little external attractiveness in his service. Still he *taught the people knowledge*, with an acute and discriminating mind, and strong and profound as it was acute. He set forth the truths of revelation, and verified the saying of one of his eminent pupils, that if you "give the people something worthy of their attention, they will attend to it." He was not congenial in society. He was stern among his people and not easily approached; yet in the pulpit, as a thinker, he was always fresh and living and rich. His church grew rapidly for the times, and enjoyed frequent revivals; one hundred and nineteen were added on profession of their faith the year after his death, tracing their serious impressions back to him.

Progressive as a thinker and preacher, Dr. Smalley was conservative in politics. The Revolutionary war occurred during his pastorate, and his sympathies were strongly on the Tory side. His father came from England, and this might have given him a livelier interest in the royal cause. He was fifty years old when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, — almost too old to change willingly his form of government. Besides, he was authoritative and dictatorial in his nature. He wore breeches and knee-buckles, and a three-cornered hat, and

taught the boys to bow reverently to him in the street, and did not allow a layman to exhort in public meetings. His famous election sermon, preached before the governor and legislators, was on the evils of a weak government. Men raised their hats whenever he passed. He believed in monarchy. "What," said he to his people when they began to drill companies for war, "will you fight your king?" Many of his people became indignant. Some fiery patriots surrounded his house at night, when he took refuge in a hay-loft in the barn and defended himself with a pitchfork. But he was taught by the logic of events, and came to approve the new government. In spite of these dissatisfactions, he held his place and power as a preacher. In 1800, the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by Nassau Hall, and many of the great divines of New England visited him in his comfortable home.

Dr. Smalley was amply qualified as a theological teacher, and his fame as one of the foremost New-England divines drew young men about him. Dr. Asahel Hooker taught thirty-three students for the ministry; Dr. Charles Backus instructed about fifty; Dr. Asa Burton, about sixty; Dr. Bellamy still more; and Dr. Emmons one hundred. Dr. Smalley had in his home only some twenty-five or thirty, but among them was Dr. Emmons himself. Hon. Oliver Ellsworth, third Chief-Justice of the United States, and Jeremiah Mason, United States Senator from New Hampshire, both, on leaving Yale College, studied for a time with Dr. Smalley. The former was in the cabinet of Washington, and among the foremost statesmen of his time. For the latter, Webster had great admiration, and to him acknowledged large indebtedness. Rev. Ebenezer Porter, D. D., president of Andover Theological Seminary, was trained for the ministry by Dr. Smalley; also Rev. Andrew Rawson, the great revival preacher, who led Titus Coan to Christ, afterwards the missionary to Sandwich Islands who baptized seventeen hundred converts in one day. Through his mark on these distinguished men, Dr. Smalley's influence reached to the high places of the land, and touched almost every important interest. Dr. Bellamy studied with Jonathan Edwards; Dr. Smalley studied with Dr. Bellamy; Dr. Emmons studied with Dr. Smalley. What an illustrious line! The ministerial lives of the three last were, respectively, fifty,

sixty-two, and seventy-one years, after licensure. Their combined ages were two hundred and fifty-three years. They preached the gospel one hundred and sixty-five years. They were active pastors without colleagues one hundred and fifty-five years. They trained two hundred students, at least, for the ministry, and gave to the press several hundred publications. But the length of the labors of these men, wonderful as it seems in these days, is not altogether exceptional. There have been two hundred and forty Congregational ministers reared in Connecticut who have had a ministry of half a century and over. Dr. Smalley was surrounded by men of this class. On the southwest, in Southington, Rev. William Robinson was settled forty-one years. On the south, in the parish of Kensington, Rev. Benjamin Upson, D. D., forty-seven years, followed by Rev. Royal Robbins, forty-five years. On the east, in Newington, Rev. Joshua Belden was settled sixty-six years, and an active pastor fifty-eight years; and Rev. Joab Brace, D. D., sixty-one years, and an active pastor fifty-one years. These two ministers also followed each other. In Farmington, on the north, Rev. Noah Porter was settled sixty-one years, and was an active pastor fifty-five years. Then, in the bordering towns, and a little farther away in the same Association, were many other half-century pastorates, — Rev. Dr. Chapin, of Rocky Hill, sixty years, and Dr. Perkins, of West Hartford, sixty-six years, and so on. These men were given to the churches before they began to cheat in ministers, and God was in no haste to take them away.

Dr. Smalley exercised his commanding influence through his preaching, his students, and his books. One word in conclusion concerning his writings. In 1769, he published two sermons on Natural and Moral Inability, which widely circulated in this country and in Great Britain. In this treatise he made a substantial contribution to the theological thinking of his age, and one which will always remain. Natural ability has respect to faculties; these are not destroyed by sin. Man can discern between moral good and evil, and has the power of conscience and of self-determination, etc. Moral ability has respect to dispositions and inclination. Herein, man is only impaired by sin, and needs the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit. This, I suppose, is the substance of what he taught. I

have never been able to find the two sermons. It was a position which brought upon him furious charges from the older Calvinists, who held to the moral ruin of man's entire nature ; but the " new light " made its way. Dr. Emmons has preserved an amusing record of his first experience with this new-divinity man : —

" When I first went as a pupil to Dr. Smalley, I was full of old Calvinism, and thought I was prepared to meet the doctor on all points of his new divinity. For some time all things went on smoothly. At length he began to advance some sentiments which were new to me, or opposed to my former views. I contended with him, but he quietly tripped up my heels, and there I lay at his mercy. But I had no thought of giving up so. I arose and commenced the struggle anew, but before I was aware of it I was floored again. Thus matters proceeded for some time, — he gradually leading me along to the place of light, and I struggling to remain in darkness. At length he gained the victory ; I began to see a little light ; it was a new point and seemed distant ; by degrees it grew and came nearer. From that time to this the light has been increasing, and I feel assured that the great doctrines of grace which I have preached for fifty years are in strict accordance with the law and the testimony."

In 1785-6, Dr. Smalley published two sermons against the doctrine of Universal Salvation ; in 1787, one on the Perfection and Usefulness of the Divine Law, delivered in the College chapel at New Haven. In 1800, the Election Sermon was published. This, too, was very popular and widely read. In 1803, a volume of doctrinal sermons was published. In 1809, Rev. Newton Skinner was settled as his colleague. September 26, 1813, Dr. Smalley preached his last sermon, but prepared another volume of sermons in the leisure of his declining years, and published it in 1814. " The remainder of his days," says Deacon Andrews, " were mostly spent in his pleasant home, midst books and friends, with many happy reflections on the past, and bright anticipations of the future. His earthly career was closed by a fit of apoplexy, which deprived him of his reason, except at some lucid intervals in which he expressed his submission to the will of God, and a humble hope in Jesus Christ." He died the first day of June, 1820, within three days of completing his eighty-sixth year, and was buried among the people with whom he had lived through two generations, but with whom his influence will live through all their posterity.

C. L. GOODELL.

CLERICAL LIFE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AN HUNDRED
YEARS AGO.

No class of persons surely did more, and I think it safe to say none did so much, to mould the early civilization of New England, as did its clergy. They were a strong-minded, well educated, and pious body of men, largely endowed with a good native common-sense. Of this they ever made liberal use, and it often afforded them safe guidance in difficult times, when all precedents were wanting; for although they studied faithfully the history of the past, but comparatively few of the lessons of its experience availed for the direction of their present.

The period they occupied was a transition period, in which old opinions and customs, matured under other skies and upon another hemisphere, were fast growing obsolete in a new land, under the dawning light of a new age. The elevated positions they held, the superiority of their attainments, and the respect with which they were regarded, gave them unbounded influence in their several localities. This distinguished confidence they never abused and were ever true to the great trusts committed to them, — proving equal to the requirements of the difficult times in which they lived. Their fidelity commands our gratitude, and their signal ability our admiration.

It has been frequently suggested that a sketch of the daily life of one of these early ministers, — the country parson, for instance, — just as it flowed on day after day, would be both profitable and interesting. But the depicting of such a life is no easy work. Materials exist in abundance from which to delineate its chief outlines, and even its more salient features; but myriads of the lighter incidents, and less eventful, that give to it vitality and characteristic expression, have perished irrecoverably.

Good fortune brought to the writer's possession, some years since, the diary of one of these ancient worthies, wherein he had made a brief daily record of matters, either personal or for some reason particularly interesting to himself, for the year 1764. This seems to have been one of a series, which was

kept with great care during the active period of a long, and in some respects quite eventful life.

It occurred to him, while perusing its brief and simple entries, that they afforded many truthful glimpses of early clerical life, and that he could not turn to better account the few pages placed at his disposal, than by grouping and presenting some of them to the readers of the "Quarterly," not indeed on account of their particular novelty or great importance, but rather as a slight contribution towards a fuller delineation than we yet possess of a picture of country clerical life in New Hampshire an hundred years ago.

The author of this diary was the Rev. Timothy Walker. He was of good old Puritan stock, and raised under good old Puritan training, in the ancient town of Woburn, Massachusetts. His great-grandfather was one of its early settlers, his grandfather a deacon of the first Woburn church, and his father one of the original members and a deacon of the church in West Woburn, or Burlington, as now called. He was born in 1705, and graduated, in a class of forty-five, at Harvard College in 1725, his name being the twenty-eighth on the roll of the class. Having taught school for a short period after his graduation, he studied theology, and was installed, on the 30th day of November, 1730, as "a learned orthodox minister," in the Plantation of Pennycook, afterwards called Rumford, and now Concord, N. H.,—a place designated by the Rev. Mr. Barnard, of Andover, who preached his ordination sermon, as one "where Satan, some years ago, had his seat and was wont to be invoked by forsaken salvages: a place which was the rendezvous of our Indian enemies." A hard place it was, according to this worthy divine, but it had just been settled by one hundred good men and true, with their families, from the old towns of Haverhill, Andover, and Bradford, under a grant of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, which, as was usual at that time, made provision for the first settled minister, for the parsonage, and "for the school forever."

Like other ministers of the period, Mr. Walker was settled for life, and his people took him for better or for worse, giving him one full share of the lands of their township, as "an encouragement," and, in addition to the use of the parsonage, an

annual salary of one hundred and twenty pounds ; on condition, however, that, "if by extreme old age he shall be disabled from carrying on the whole work of the ministry, he shall abate so much of his salary as shall be rational." This was to be paid in whatever was "the medium of trade, for the time, in the Province, at silver seventeen shillings the ounce." His salary amounted, therefore, to about one hundred and fifty-six dollars of our currency, and must, as was well understood, be supplemented by such additional income as could be derived from the farm given him, and from the parsonage lands.

Prosperity attended this little settlement in the wilderness, forty miles back from the old frontier towns. The clearings upon the intervals of the Merrimack and upon the swells, of the uplands expanded year by year, and luxuriant fields of grain and pulse, of flax and potatoes and grass, soon supplanted large areas of forest. The rude dwellings at first erected gave way by degrees to structures more comfortable. The block house, which had served the triple purpose of fortress, town-house, and church, was superseded by a commodious meeting-house. Its population increased, not rapidly indeed, but constantly. Frequent intercourse with the towns of northeastern Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire kept the new community informed of the general news of the time, and, as other settlements grew up around it, its isolation became less, and its inhabitants less lonely. It was a simple life they led ; as simple, indeed, as that of Acadie, but more intelligent, and animated by higher purposes,—for these people were of a different faith and had sprung from a different stock.

In 1764, Rumford had a population of about seven hundred and fifty souls. Two grave discouragements, which had hitherto retarded its growth, had just ceased to exist. The treaty of Paris, which the year before (Feb. 10, 1763) had given supremacy on this continent to the English, had terminated the Indian ravages to which it had been exposed. A long legal contest also, which had been waged from its very inception, and involved the validity of its land title, had just been favorably decided by the King in Council.

With this explanation we will now turn over the leaves of this diary of Parson Walker for the year 1764, that we may

catch what glimpses it can afford us of country clerical life in New Hampshire a century ago.

We at once find that the ministerial work was the great work of the country clergyman of those days. This received his first attention. His public religious duties consisted in conducting two services for divine worship on the Sabbath, and, upon stated occasions, in preaching a lecture preparatory to the communion. The half-way covenant was in general use, and persons duly propounded were permitted to own the covenant of the church; and, although debarred from a participation in the privileges of the sacrament, they yet enjoyed a kind of semi-church membership which allowed them to present their children for baptism.

The Rumford church, composed at first of but eight male members, was gradually increasing its numbers; and this year, as we learn from the diary, five new ones were admitted to full communion, while eighteen persons owned the covenant, and thirty-eight were baptised.¹

But the religious duties of its worthy pastor were not confined to Rumford. Quite a number of his flock had emigrated to Pigwacket, now Fryeburg, in Maine, where for a time they enjoyed but few religious privileges. Thither, as often as he could, he followed them and visited them in their new homes upon the Saco,—making the journey of some one hundred miles or more through the wilderness on horseback.

This is his brief record of such a journey in September of this year:—

Wed. 19. Set out for Pigwacket, comitante Capt. McMillen. Went through Epsom. Lodged at Capt. Cates'.

Thurs. 20. Breakfasted at Major Titcomb's. Dined at Mr. Stanyan's, and lodged at Kennebunk.

Frid. 21. Travelled and lodged at a meadow above the great Falls, on Saco River. Rained somewhat.

Sat. 22. Arrived at Pigwacket about 10 o'clock.

¹ There are now four Congregational churches in Concord, N. H., which have an aggregate membership of eight hundred and forty-seven,—nearly a hundred more than the entire population of the town in 1764. The number of baptisms, however, in these churches in 1872, as reported in the "Congregational Quarterly" for January last, was but twenty-five, of which twenty were of adults and five of infants.

- Sun.* 23. Preached at Pigwacket ; about forty-five persons present.
Mon. 24. Viewed the interval and the great meadows.
Tues. 25. Viewed Lovell's Pond. Ye great — went round —.
Wed. 26. Dined at Mr. Spring's.
Thurs. 27. Visited up at y^e mills. Dined at Nathaniel Merrill's.
Frid. 28. Went into y^e great — with Col. Frye.
Sat. 29. Visited at sundry places.
Sun. 30. Preached. Baptized Elizabeth — of Jedediah Spring.
Mon. (*Oct.*) 1. Set out homeward with a large company.

Other diaries contain entries of the same character.

1766.

Sun. Sept. 28. Preached at Mr. Swan's, in Pigwacket. Arr'd 25th.
 Lodged at Capt. W.'s.

Mon. 29. Visited and Lodged at Mr. Day's. Bap. Judith, his daughter.

Oct. 5. Preached at Pigwacket. Bap. Susanna, daughter of — Holt ; Barnard, son of Timothy Walker, Jr. ; Susannah, daughter of Saml. Osgood ; Ann, daughter of Leonard Harriman ; Robert, son of David Page ; William, son of Jno. Evans ; Sarah, daughter of David Evans ; Wm., son of William Eaton ; Moses, son of James Osgood ; Wm., son of Ben. Osgood. 11 Bap. at Pigwacket.

It will be noticed that no less than three or four days were spent in making this journey from Rumford to Pigwacket, which, it is expected, may soon be accomplished in as many hours.

The minister of Rumford was conservative and always earnest in defence of the unity and quiet of his flock. He ever sought to exclude from his parish any influence tending to its disturbance. We accordingly find him, like many of his brethren in the ministry, showing little sympathy with the movements of Whitefield, who had been preaching in New England in 1740. Shortly after this, he felt constrained to utter his views upon the subject in a sermon entitled "The way to try all pretended apostles," which was published "at the desire of the hearers." He says, in this, to his people : "Nothing, I am well satisfied, has so much contributed to the evils that do so cloud the present day, and look with such a direful aspect upon us, as the indulging an unmortified itch after novelties, and having the persons of strangers whom we know nothing of, in admiration, and setting them up above the

place of instruments. If, therefore, you would not become accessory to the guilt of those who are endeavoring the subversion of our religious constitution, keep out of the way of temptation as much as may be. . . . But, if any of you think yourselves unable to manage a controversy with them, invite them to accompany you to my house, and I will gladly undertake this, or any other service I am capable of, for the benefit of your souls."

And when, thirty years later, in 1771, Hezekiah Smith, a Baptist elder, from Haverhill, proposed demonstrating to his flock the worthlessness of the baptism they had severally received at his hands, he prepared another sermon for the quieting of his Israel, entitled "Those who have the form of godliness, but deny the power thereof, described and cautioned against." This also was published "at the desire of many hearers." That these discourses answered the purpose intended, is evident from the fact that Mr. Walker remained the only minister of the only church in the town for the long period of fifty-two years, his pastoral office terminating only with his life.

The old New-Hampshire minister was, almost invariably, a well educated man, and the stable order of things in the country parishes an hundred years ago is due in very great measure to this fact. The expression, common in the old town charters, "a learned Orthodox minister," was by no means a conventional one merely. It appears upon examination, that of the fifty-two settled ministers in the Province in 1764, no less than forty-eight were graduates of colleges; while in the County of Rockingham, to which Rumford then belonged, thirty-one, certainly, of the thirty-two, and perhaps all, had received a liberal education, — one at the University of Scotland, one at Yale, and twenty-nine at Harvard.

And it is an interesting fact that some at least of these never forgot the classics they had studied while at college. In the diary, which was written hastily, and for no eye but its author's, are repeated uses of the Latin, its greater compactness of expression, perhaps, often rendering it most convenient for the hasty jottings of daily events. We find, for example:—

Jan. 1. Matrimonio conjunxi David George and Hannah Osgood.

April 20. Nihil memorabilia.

Aug. 2. Aequa continuit.

Sept. 19. Set out for Pigwacket, comitante Capt. McMillan.

Oct. 21. Preached. Sacramentum administravi.

And all matters of a delicate nature, connected with the management of the herd upon his farm, were invariably veiled in Latin.

The early clergymen were the patrons of sound learning and general education. When, at an excited town-meeting in Tamworth, N. H., some doubted the propriety of Parson Hidden's voting, the old patriot, full of righteous indignation, sprang to his feet with the exclamation:—

"I no right to vote! I, who have devoted my life to you; who, besides helping to fight through the Revolution, have baptized you, have prayed for you, have preached to you, and have *educated* you; you say I have no right to vote! Who of you can show a better?"

We find in the diary under the date of —

Dec. 14. Sent Thomas Spring to school.

Dec. 18. Carried a load of wood to y^e school-house.

Dec. 20. Prince cut up my wood at y^e school-house.

But for the devoted efforts of these early clergymen, our New-England civilization would have been a different product from what we now find it, and the great principles that were the soul of our Revolutionary struggle would never have nerved our colonial masses to the successful issue they attained. "But for the clergy," said an able man, now dead, — "but for the clergy, our forefathers could never have successfully fought through the Revolution."

When Benjamin Thompson, in his early manhood, and enthusiastic in his love for science, came to Concord, in the autumn of 1771, to teach the village school, he found at once an hearty welcome at the parsonage. His solid attainments and brilliant qualities made him a favorite in the town, and he ere long secured the heart and hand of the minister's eldest daughter. He never forgot the kindness then and there received; and when in after years, at the very zenith of his renown, the Elector of Bavaria, for important services rendered his people, made him a Count of the Holy Roman Em-

pire, his mind reverted to the little town in America where as a schoolmaster he had begun his career, and he requested that his titular designation be that of Rumford ; and thus came it that as "Count Rumford" the world has since and will ever know him.

The minister of the olden time was a close observer of public events, outside of his parish. Glancing again to the diary we read :—

Jan 8. Heard the good news of an accommodation with the Indians.

Nov. 2. Heard of Sandeman's arrival in America.¹

Entries of similar import are found in the diaries of other years.

1780.

June 30. Heard that y^e French fleet had got possession of Halifax, N. B. Agreed with the post rider for half a year's newspaper, beginning y^e 28th of June and to end y^e 21st of December.

Nov. 28. The post arrived—brought the good news of the arrival of the French fleet off Georgia.

Nor was this owing to a relish for novelties. It rested rather upon an intelligent interest in the welfare of the country.

As before intimated, the clergy were generally found among the patriots in the Revolutionary struggle. To this remark, however, Parson Walker's eccentric classmate, Dr. Mather Byles, was a marked exception.

Tradition says it was in the evening that tidings of the battle of Lexington reached Concord, as Rumford was now called, and that the next morning, Squire John Bradley, one of the leading citizens of the town, rising quite early, after a restless night, was surprised by a bright light in the pastor's study. He immediately went there for consultation upon the theme uppermost in the minds of all the evening before. A blazing open fire disclosed to him, through the uncurtained windows, glimpses of the old patriot parson pacing anxiously the room. Entering, with the slight formality that simple

¹ The Rev. Robert Sandeman, an eminent Scotch divine of the Sandemanian sect of Christians, a party of whom emigrated to this country and settled at Danbury, Conn., in the year 1764.

customs and kind neighborhood then made common, he was immediately accosted with the remark, "Squire, we have got to fight: no other course left us." In a few days after, Concord had its quota of men in the army environing the British forces in Boston.

Dr. Bouton, in his admirable History of Concord, relates a story of similar character. One Sunday afternoon, in the summer of 1777, when Gen. Burgoyne was passing down through Vermont, on his way to join the British forces in New York, Col. Gordon Hutchins rode into town from Exeter, where the Provincial Assembly was then in session, and hastily dismounting at the church, entered it in the midst of divine service. The quick eye of his venerable pastor caught sight of him the moment he came in, and pausing at once in the midst of his sermon, he said to him, "Col. Hutchins, are you the bearer of any message?"—"Yes," replied the Colonel, "Gen. Burgoyne is on his march to Albany; Gen. Stark has offered to take the command of New-Hampshire men; and if all turn out, we can cut off his march." Whereupon, the minister immediately remarked, "My hearers, those of you who are willing to go, had better leave at once." At which word, says Dr. B., all the men in the meeting-house rose and went out. Many immediately enlisted. The whole night was spent in preparation, and a company was ready to march the next day.

The old clergy all dispensed a simple and generous hospitality to persons travelling in the Province. The diary confirms our knowledge of that fact by entries like the following:

Feb. 22. Capts. Page¹ and Stark, and their wives dined with us.

Feb. 24. Major Rogers² dined with us.

Nov. 18. Col. Frye dined and lodged here.

And if we follow Mr. Walker on one of the five journeys which he made to Portsmouth this year, on business of the town, we shall see him accepting the same hospitalities on his way, that he was ever ready to proffer to others.

¹ Capt. Caleb Page, of Dunbarton, was the father-in-law of Gen. John Stark, the hero of the battle of Bennington, to whom his daughter, the celebrated "Betty Stark," was married by Mr. Walker, on the 16th of August, 1758.

² Major Robert Rogers, the intrepid commander of Rogers' Rangers.

May. 16. Set out for Portsmouth. Lodged at Tilton's.

" 17. Went to Portsmouth. Entered y^e action. Heard Dunstable and Derry case tried.

" 18. Post M. Returned home. Lodged at Mr. Moody's, New Market (Rev. John Moody, minister of New Market from 1730 to 1778).

" 19. Dined at Mr. Tucke's (Rev. John Tucke, minister of Epsom from 1761 to 1774).

When, many years afterwards, a descendant of his wished to take down the barn which the old minister had built, to gain room for a better one, his father, Judge Timothy Walker, absolutely forbid it, on the ground that it had been Parson Walker's barn, which had never been destitute of hay and provender for the horse of the traveller who had asked its owner's hospitality.

There were no public meteorological reports in 1764, and in all probability a thermometer had never been seen in Rumford. Yet the weather was watched with great interest, and rules for foretelling its changes were in common use.

All through the diary are records like these : —

Jan. 2. Very cold.

" 4. Ye weather moderated.

" 5. Snowed moderately.

" 14. Appearance of a thaw.

" 24. Snowed about three inches deep.

July 28. It has been a very hot week. No rain, but a very growing time.

" 29. Continues very hot but showery.

March 8. Moon passed by the Pleiades. Capt. Page's rule failed.

In fact, no less than one hundred and thirty-nine entries of similar import are scattered through this diary. In the others are memoranda of like character. We find in that of 1780 : —

Jan. 23. Preached all day — very cold — the coldest Sunday yt has been for years !¹

May 19. A remarkable dark day although the clouds appeared thin.

Oct. 27. A remarkable eclipse of the sun.

The old pastors were in close sympathy with their people,

¹ At this time, the meeting-houses in New Hampshire possessed no means of warming, so that the worshippers were entirely dependent for their comfort upon the ardor of the minister's exhortations, and the fervor of their own religious emotions.

and mingled with them constantly and freely. Says the diary :—

July 11. Attended Mrs. Osgood's entertainment.¹

July 30. Visited at Jonathan Stickney's with other company.

Augt. 23. Attended Taylor's raising.

These raisings were great occasions, on which the neighbors attended to render gratuitous assistance. They were frequently enlivened by wrestling matches, and by generous potations more exhilarating than any of ordinary spring water.

Sept. 18. Dined with company at Capt. McMillan's.

Nov. 9. Went to Dunbarton training.

This freedom of intercourse rarely led to undue familiarity, and enhanced, rather than diminished, the minister's influence. On all occasions where neighborly assistance was wanted, it was freely rendered, either in person or by servants and teams.

Visiting was informal, and neighborly kindnesses were free and common. Says the diary :—

April 16. Visited Col. Rolfe. Pitched y' place for his house.

May 31. Col. Rolfe raised his house.†

"Masting" was common in some parts of the Merrimack valley an hundred years ago, and required very large numbers of men and oxen to move the immense trees from the forests to the river's bank, whence they were floated to Newburyport, the port of their shipment abroad. One of these, cut in Rumford or vicinity, is said to have been eight feet in diameter at the butt end, and one hundred and ten feet long, requiring seventy yoke of oxen to draw it to the river. On such occasions, the

¹ "Mother Osgood," as she was called, was a positive character, and the landlady of the village inn.

² Col. Rolfe had long been a leading citizen of Rumford, and became subsequently the son-in-law of Mr. Walker. The house above alluded to, upon the death of Colonel Rolfe, became the property of his widow and son. She was married to Benjamin Thompson (afterwards Count Rumford) in 1772, and it was here that he lived during the latter part of his residence in Concord. It eventually descended to his daughter, the late Countess Rumford, who in 1852 founded a charitable institution for indigent and orphan females, called The Rolfe and Rumford Asylum, making this estate the seat of it. The fund, aside from the real estate left for its support, has since been accumulating, and now amounts to nearly sixty thousand dollars.

minister was always ready to join his neighbors in contributing to the assistance needed.

Says the diary : —

Jan. 17. At night, with one yoke of oxen, Prince went into y^e mast camp.

“ 18. Mr. Webster hauled his great mast at night.

“ 20. Prince returned from masting.

Prince, who was the negro slave of the minister of Rumford, was ever a good friend of his oxen. As the story runs, one season the corn in his master's garret was found to be disappearing with a mysterious rapidity, for which no one of the household, the negro included, could afford any explanation. At length, one day at twilight, the attention of the worthy parson was suddenly arrested by the dull sound of something apparently dropped upon the ground beneath his attic window. An unobserved exploration of the premises revealed a bag of corn lying there, which Prince, soon after appearing, carried quickly to the barn and there distributed to his oxen, as a mark of his tender and peculiar regard. As that kind of stealing was unknown to the statute, the warm-hearted African received no more severe punishment than he could comfortably endure, a fact which must surely meet the approval of this later and more humane age, when a white man may steal a railroad or a kingdom with impunity.

The early town ministers were often not only the spiritual, but the secular advisers of their people. This arose in a great measure from the fact that they were generally the only liberally educated men in their localities. With a single exception, the minister was the only one in Rumford for more than a quarter of a century after its settlement. We accordingly find very many of the early deeds, indentures, and petitions in his handwriting. He was also a frequent attendant at the proprietary and town meetings. The diary says : —

Jan. 23. Attended meeting of the inhabitants to choose assessors.

March 12. Attended town-meeting. Concluded to complain to the king, etc.

April 11. Prepared a petition to offer y^e General Court.

“ 12. Presented my petition, which was read in Council.

The latter entry reminds us of the fact that the minister was often made the agent of the town for the management of its more difficult matters of business abroad. The petition above mentioned was for the incorporation of Rumford as a town, which, owing to the embittered opposition of parties of commanding influence with the Provincial government, had never enjoyed town privileges since its separation from Massachusetts.

This was but a single occasion of many on which he had acted in such a capacity. A far more memorable one had occurred when a desperate attempt had been made by the same or kindred parties to dispossess his people and seize upon the little farms they had reclaimed from the wilderness.

As before stated, Rumford was settled under a Massachusetts grant, and was supposed at the time to be within the limits of that Province. At the time of its settlement the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was undetermined, and when, some ten years afterwards, the running of this line threw this township into the latter Province, a company, previously chartered by the General Court of New Hampshire, and composed very largely of its leading judicial and legislative officials, sought to dispossess the *bona fide* settlers of their lands.

To effect this, writs of ejectment, made returnable to the Provincial courts, were brought against individual proprietors, to recover petty tracts of land, of so small a value as to preclude appeals to the higher courts of the crown, — the evident intention being, by repeated defeats, to exhaust the means of the defendants, and discourage them from further efforts to retain their homesteads.

It became ere long apparent to the settlers, and to those holding under them, that it was in vain to expect justice in courts where judges had personal adverse interests in the suits brought before them. Their only recourse, therefore, was that of a petition to the king; and of this, as a last resort, they availed themselves, appointing their minister their agent, and sending him no less than three times to England, in the years 1753, 1754, and 1762, to represent to the king in council their deplorable condition, and ask redress of their wrongs. The

bitter opposition and expensive delays he had encountered at home followed him to the Court of St. James. But success finally crowned his efforts, and he returned in the early part of 1763, bearing a royal decree, which reversed the decisions of the Provincial Courts, on the broad and equitable principle that the titles of authorized *bona fide* settlers in possession were not vacated by a change of Provincial lines.

We have before seen that a portion of the salary of the minister of Rumford was to be derived from the income of the farm given him as "an encouragement," as it was called, and from the lands of the parsonage. Indeed, no small part of his support came from these sources. Many of the old New-Hampshire ministers were among the best farmers in the Province. The diary tells us many things of Provincial agriculture, and hints that all work upon the farm should be done seasonably: —

Jan. 10. Sledged logs for my fence.

" 16. My team sledged fencing stuff.

May 29. Finished my cart and shoeing my sleds.

We see here that the sleds, shod six months beforehand, were sure of being ready for use on the first snow of the ensuing winter.

Other entries show that the variety of the minister's crops must have been as extensive as that upon any other farm of his parish.

April 18. Sowed wheat, in Water Nummons's [field.]

" 19. I sowed on the Island one bushel of rye, one peck of large peas, three pecks hotspurs, and five bushels oats.

April 27. Deacon Hall sowed hay seed for me.

May 5. Sowed a bushel of barley and more than a bushel of flax seed and harrowed it in.

N. B. 26th of March, set out 63 young apple trees in a row, beginning next ye road; then set two young plum trees; then 5 of best Winter apples; then 9 of the spice apple, making 79 in y^e whole.

April 20. Set out 20 apple trees in the Island orchard and in y^e Joel orchard.

April 23. Bot. 40 apple trees of Philip Eastman, brot. ym home and set ym out.

April 24. Set out about 60 young apple trees in y^e house lot.

The controversy, before alluded to, having been settled the

year before, Mr. Walker now felt that the homestead he had occupied for thirty-four years was his own, and he proceeded to make improvements and embellishments which the uncertainty of his tenure had heretofore caused to be deferred.

June 13. Transplanted 250 cabbages.

July 6. Set the missing tobacco plants.

June 2. Prince began to weed my house lot corn.

July 6. Finished moulding my Island corn.

" 27. Began to hill my Island corn.¹

Oct. 12. At night had a husking.

We have on record here, as raised this year, crops of wheat, rye, peas, oats, grass, barley, flax, tobacco, and corn. Others still there doubtless were, of which no mention is made.

Nor were these all that the minister's farm contributed this year to his support. The diary further says:—

Jan. 5. Killed four hogs.

Weight of my 1st Hog	.	.	165 lbs.
" 2d "	.	.	195 "
" 3d "	.	.	292 "
" 4th "	.	.	227 "
			<hr/>
			879 "

Nov. 13. Killed a cow. Wt. about 90 pr. quarter.

Nov. 29 and Dec. 3. Killed 4 hogs. Wt. about 850.

Dec 3. Killed my Sullen heifer. Fore quarters weighed lbs. 234.

To turn from these grosser aliments to one which cheers, rather than nourishes, we find, on another page:—

Sept. 4. Raised y^e cider mill.

Oct. 16. Made 7 barrels cider.

" 17. Made 2 barrels of water cider.

" 18. Made 12 barrels of cider.

" 20. Made 4 barrels of water cider.

Facts like these hint to us how the clergymen of the olden time contrived to get along on a salary of (\$156) one hundred and fifty-six dollars a year, supporting well his household, and keeping open doors to the traveller who claimed his hospitality. With a barn and granary thus filled, with two beeves and

¹ It may be interesting to note that the three dressings of the young corn were then respectively designated as, 1st, *Weeding*; 2d, *Moulding*; and 3d, *Hilling*.

eight porkers well salted in the cellar, supplemented by twenty-five barrels of sparkling cider, and the no longer "missing tobacco plants," clerical life, even upon the frontier an hundred years ago, was not without its comforts and attractions.

Frugal indeed and simple was then the style of living in these interior towns. Their people were an agricultural people, and their resources were limited, but their ideas were broad and their hearts warm. They revered religion, they cherished learning, and they loved their country. They were also, in a greater degree than they or we have been wont to think, the men and women their clergy made them.

When the little community of Rumford had settled their minister, they temporarily housed him and his young bride in a parsonage of logs, but with the intention that he should ere long have the best house in the parish. Three years later, when they had beaten back a little the wilderness, they met in public assembly and made him a grant of (£50) fifty pounds "for building of him a dwelling house."

Thus aided, he erected in 1733 a two-storied house, some forty feet long and twenty feet wide, with an ell of one story in the rear, both of which were covered with the gambrel roof then common. Tradition says, with how much truth we know not, that this was the first two-storied house between Haverhill, Mass., and Canada. It was made a garrison house in 1746, and at one time sheltered no less than eight different families.

But years elapsed before it was completed. It was finished by degrees, as the distractions of the times and the limited means of its proprietor allowed. We learn from the diary that something was done in this direction in 1764.

Jan. 19. Went with Mr. Timothy Bradley to look out clapboard timber.

Nov. 19. Bro't 600 thin boards from Nath. Abbot's.

" 22. Capt. Walker plastered my chamber entry.

" 23. He plastered the long entry.

" 24. He plastered the North room.

" 26. Capt. Walker began my stone chimney.

" 27. Finished my stone chimney.

This stone chimney, some five or six feet square, was taken down in 1847, and was found to be built of flat stones, laid

in clay mortar, its inner surface being covered with a coating of clay mingled with chopped straw. It extended only to the attic floor, and was topped out with bricks

Dec. 5. Capt. Walker laid me two hearths. Jona. Kimball came to help me lay my best room floor.

" 8. Jona. Kimball finished laying my best room floor.

This best room floor, resting upon white oak sleepers, was held in place by wrought-iron nails, some three and a half inches long, made, very likely, by the village blacksmith. Its removal, after a service of eighty-three years, made certain the fact that Jona. Kimball had no idea that it was ever to be taken up.

To a modern builder, thirty or forty years may seem a long time for the building of a common dwelling; but this one was built as fast as its proprietor's circumstances would warrant, and was built to endure. Four generations of his descendants have enjoyed its shelter, and it is as sound now, at the age of one hundred and forty years, as it was a century ago.

The early clergymen of New Hampshire brought with them to their rural parishes in the interior, more or less of the æsthetic culture then found in the olden towns near the coast. The four years' residence at Cambridge which most of them had enjoyed awakened a love for verdant lawns and o'erarching trees. It is by no means surprising, therefore, that we find the minister of Rumford, the year following his last return from England, embellishing his house lot with shade trees.

He says in the diary:—

May 2. Set out eight elm trees about my house.¹

He had already, as we have seen, this year planted no less than one hundred and ninety-nine fruit trees in his orchards. These have mostly perished, but five of the elms still remain, growing more beautiful and stalwart and grand as the decades pass them by. The largest has now a girth of sixteen feet and ten inches, at a distance of three feet from the ground, and a top whose diameter measures an hundred feet.

¹ The one hundredth anniversary of the planting of these elms was appropriately observed on the second day of May, 1864, by a genial and appreciative company at the old parsonage.

Many of the early clergymen of New Hampshire, who were generally settled for life, had long pastorates, which no "unmortified itch after novelties," and no health-impairing fortunes of rich consorts was suffered to abbreviate.

Among the contemporaries of Mr. Walker, in New Hampshire, were : —

Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, the minister of Chester for sixty years.

Rev. John Wilson (Presbyterian), minister of Chester for forty-five years.

Rev. John Odlin, the minister of Exeter for forty-eight years.

Rev. William Allen, the minister of Greenland for fifty-three years.

Rev. Samuel Mac Clintock, the minister of Greenland for forty-eight years.

Rev. John Tucke, the minister of Gosport for forty-one years.

Rev. Jeremy Fogg, the minister of Kensington for fifty-two years.

Rev. William Davidson, the minister of Londonderry for fifty-one years.

Rev. Joseph Adams, the minister of Newington for sixty-eight years.

Rev. John Moody, the minister of Newmarket for forty-eight years.

Rev. Samuel Parsons, the minister of Rye for forty-eight years.

Rev. Jona Cushing, the minister of Dover for fifty-two years.

Rev. James Pike, the minister of Somersworth for sixty years¹

No one of these had a pastorate of less than forty-one years, while seven of them had pastorates exceeding fifty, averaging indeed, fifty-six and four sevenths years.

But we will close the diary so often cited. For yet sixteen years its author continued to meet cheerfully the duties devolving upon him as a pastor, a neighbor, and a citizen. For fifty-

¹ Mr. Pike, of Somersworth, and Mr. Flagg, of Chester, were both classmates of Mr. Walker. The aggregate ministries of the three amount to one hundred and seventy-two years, making an average of fifty-seven and one third years.

two years he had gone in and out before his people, and been their only minister. But the time of his departure had come. On the first Sunday morning of September, 1782, while they were preparing to meet him in the sanctuary, their hearts were unexpectedly saddened by the intelligence that he had died since the dawn, and that the lips, vocal in prayer but the day before at the bedside of a dying neighbor, were sealed forever.

A few days after, followed by the great mass of his parishioners, his remains were borne forth from his dwelling by eight of his brethren in the ministry, each wearing the mourning ring, presented him by the town, to the ancient "God's acre," and to a spot where fell first the blushing beams of morning, and lingered longest the slanting rays of sunset. Here they buried him, beside Sarah his wife, "a good old man and full of years."

As one wanders through the old burial-grounds, and there reads the simple tablets erected by the towns in memory of their early ministers, he bows reverently his head, and the thought rises unbidden that, but for these, New England would not have been the New England we boast to-day. Theirs was, indeed, a simpler age than ours. It was their work to contribute liberally in laying deep and broad the foundations of a republic. Manfully and faithfully did they execute it. Heaven grant that the superstructure our century rears upon these be commensurate in excellence, and that both endure perpetually!

JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Concord, N. H.



MEETING-HOUSE ERECTED IN 1870-72, WITH THE WASHINGTON ELM.

THE FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE.

THE settlement of Cambridge was begun in 1631, and the place received the name of Newtown. It was designed to make it the capital of the Province of Massachusetts. It was thought afterwards that the neighboring peninsula presented superior advantages, and the government was accordingly established at Boston. This change caused an alienation between Winthrop, who had set up the frame of a dwelling-house at Newtown, and Dudley, who had completed his house and

* Under this tree Washington first took command of the American army, July 3d, 1775.

moved into it. "The ministers, for an end of the difference, ordered that the governor should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute some towards his maintenance for a time ; or, if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the deputy, towards his charges in building there, £20." The governor promised to comply with this order, and the deputy had "so full a persuasion of the governor's love to him, and so high an estimate of it, that if he had given him £100 instead of £20, he would not have taken it."

The town received legislative patronage, and in some of the earliest years the annual election of the governor and magistrates was held here under an oak upon the common.

In 1632, the town received a considerable accession by the arrival of the Braintree Company, composed of persons who had in England enjoyed the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Hooker. He was a graduate and fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. After leaving college he preached with success, but in 1630 he was silenced for non-conformity, and put under bonds to appear before the High-Commission Court. For a time he taught school, having as an usher John Eliot, who, under Mr. Hooker's influence, devoted himself to the Christian ministry. Mr. Hooker's bond was paid by a friend, and he crossed to Holland, where he remained for three years. He was not able to come to this country with his parishioners, but having returned to England in the following year he escaped with great difficulty and sailed for New England in company with John Cotton and Samuel Stone. The voyage was enlivened with three sermons or expositions on almost every day, and also by the birth of a son to Mr. Cotton. The child received the appropriate name of Seaborn. The people here could hardly fail to play upon the names of the ministers, and though they were grave Puritans liked to say, "that their three great necessities would now be supplied ; for they had Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building."

A church was organized at Newtown. Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher. Both had been ordained in England, but were again ordained to their offices by their own church, in the presence of neighboring ministers, who gave the right hand of fellowship. This was the eighth church in the

Massachusetts Colony. The meeting-house was a small, plain structure, probably built of logs, though the first meeting-house in Boston, which was built the same year, had mud walls and a thatched roof. The house here had a bell, though for some reason a drum was soon used to summon people to worship. The change from the parish churches of England to these humble buildings was more than balanced by the joy of preaching the gospel, in its purity and liberty, free men to free men.

In a few months the people of Newtown complained that they were straitened for want of room. They said there was not land enough, especially meadow, so that they could not maintain their ministers, nor receive more inhabitants. Mr. Hooker said it was an error that towns were set so near together. After protracted negotiation, leave to remove was granted, and in the summer of 1636 the church and congregation, a hundred in number, made their journey through a trackless wilderness, travelling by the compass, and driving their cattle with them. Mrs. Hooker, being in feeble health, was carried in a horse-litter. The company formed a settlement in Connecticut, where some preparation had already been made, and called the place Hartford, after the birthplace of Mr. Stone.

Before they left Newtown another company had arrived from England, who purchased the meeting-house and dwelling-houses and other immovable property which the Hooker settlers were compelled to leave. These new-comers did not design to remain here permanently ; but they found ample means of subsistence, and remembered that their lives were short, and that removals to new plantations were full of trouble ; and they prized the fellowship of the churches, which was a novelty and refreshment in the wilderness. They organized a church on the first day of February, 1636. It was the eleventh church formed in the Massachusetts Colony, and is the present First Church in Cambridge. There were about sixty members at the beginning. In Governor Winthrop's Journal will be found an account of this act of organization. The history of this church has recently been issued by the Congregational Publishing Society. The first minister was the Rev. Thomas Shepard, who was born in Towcester, England, in 1605, on the day "and

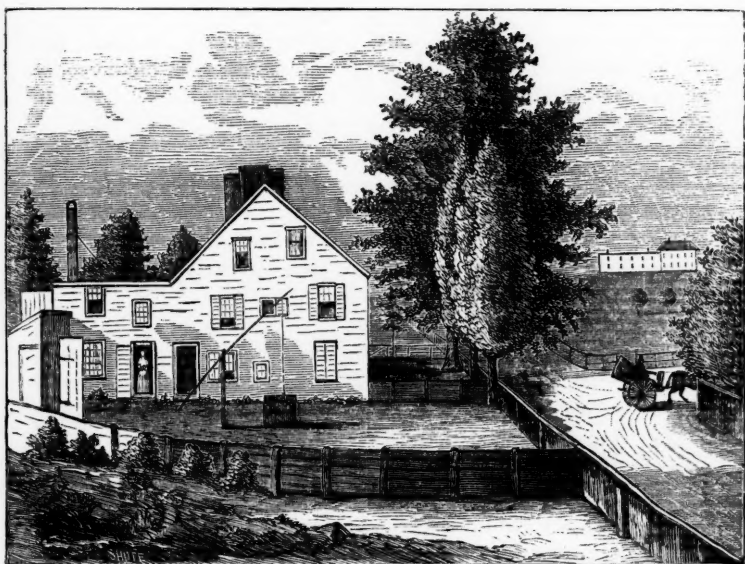
that very hour wherein the parliament should have been blown up." His father, to express his conviction that this plot would not be believed by his son when he should be told the story, named the boy for the doubting disciple. After a troubled youth, he entered Emmanuel College, where he acquired a high reputation for scholarship. While in college "the Lord gave me a heart to receive Christ, with a naked hand, even a naked Christ, and so he gave me peace." He was appointed a lecturer in the Church of England, and received deacon's orders. He was successful in his work, but soon came under the wrath of Bishop Laud, who sentenced him in this ecclesiastical language: "I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial functions in any part of my diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of this kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you." He was chaplain for a short time in Yorkshire in the family of Sir Richard Darley, whose kinswoman, Margaret Tauteville, became his wife. He was then, for a few months, in Heddon and a neighboring town, where he again came in contact with the church authorities. He preached up and down the country for a time, undecided what course to pursue. At length he started for New England, but was forced to return by a violent storm. Finally he stole away from England, possibly under a disguised name, and after a long voyage reached Boston, where he was made welcome. He came to Newtown with his friends, and they were formed into a church, as we have seen. There were notable men in the early membership. Those familiar with our history will recognize the names of John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts; Roger Harlakenden, Richard Champney, Samuel Green, Matthew Day, Edward Winship, Henry Dunster, Thomas Danforth, Daniel Gookin, Herbert Pelham, Elijah Corlet.

The form of covenant agreed to has not been preserved. It was probably like that of the First Church in Boston and in Charlestown. Mr. Shepard died in 1649. His ministry was marked by the controversy with Ann Hutchinson and the Antinomians. The synod, to settle the difficulties which arose in consequence of this strife, met with the Cambridge Church.

Here also, in 1648, "the Cambridge Platform" was adopted by a synod, and given to the churches. This was the centre of missionary work among the Indians, in which Mr. Shepard was actively engaged. Eliot's translation of the Bible was printed here, and was followed by numerous other works in the Indian tongue. Let it be remarked that the first Protestant mission to the heathen in modern times began in Cambridge; the first Protestant sermon in a heathen tongue was preached here; the first translation of the Bible, by an Englishman, into a heathen tongue, was printed here; the first Protestant tract in a heathen language was written and printed here. In all these missionary works, this church, under the lead of its ministers, took a lively interest and bore an important part. It was in the year in which the church was formed that the first action was taken for founding a college. The college was established at Newtown, because this was "a place very pleasant and accommodate," and also because it was "under the orthodox and soul-flourishing ministry of Mr. Thomas Shepard." The name Newtown was soon changed to Cambridge. Mr. Shepard's publications are quite numerous. Among them is a large treatise on the parable of the ten virgins; one on the Sabbath; one entitled "The Sincere Convert"; another, "The Sound Believer." These are all worth reading now. The style is condensed, clear, nervous, rich in comparisons and similes. Some one has made the computation, that in Jonathan Edwards' Treatise on the Religious Affections, of the one hundred and thirty-two quotations, more than one half are from Thomas Shepard. He left nothing more interesting than his Autobiography, which is in a small leather-covered book, now in possession of his successor in the pastoral office. His preaching was effective. To some young ministers, who visited him just before his death, he said, "Your work is great, and calls for great seriousness. As to myself, I can say three things: that the study of every sermon cost me tears; that before I preached a sermon, I got good by it myself; and that I always went up into the pulpit as if I were to give up my account to my Master." His preaching was eminently sound, according to Puritan standards; but it was also spiritual and eminently practical. His influence

over the students was marked. One of them became his immediate successor.

Jonathan Mitchel was a Yorkshire boy, who came to this country when eleven years old, graduated at Harvard College in 1647, and became the pastor of this church in 1650. He died in 1668. During his ministry came the trouble with President Dunster, in which the Cambridge minister was obliged to be prominent. But in his last will Dunster spoke of him as his reverend, trusty, and judicious friend. Mitchel was also active in framing and defending the "Half-way Covenant." The years of this ministry were eventful for England and for her colonies. But the work of the church went on. The high terms of admiration which were lavished upon Shepard were renewed for the "matchless Mitchel." He took an active part in college affairs. President Mather exhorted the students: "Say each of you, Mitchel shall be the example whom I will imitate." Richard Baxter said of him, "that if there



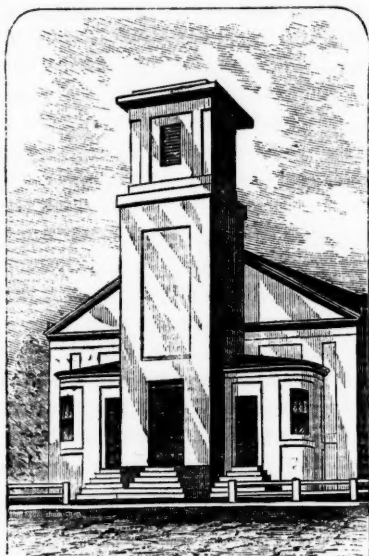
THE OLD PARSONAGE: BUILT IN 1670.

could be convened an Æcumenical Council of the whole Christian world, that man would be worthy to be the moderator of it."

There is not space to trace the history of this church from the beginning. When so much is already in print, this is not necessary. Mitchel was followed in the pastorate by Urian Oakes, 1671-1681; Nathaniel Gookin, 1682-1692; William Brattle, 1696-1717; Nathaniel Appleton, 1717-1784; Timothy Hilliard, 1783-1790; Abiel Holmes, 1792-1831.

The pastorate of Dr. Holmes was marked by the separation of the church from the parish. The majority of the parish had become Unitarians, and insisted upon having Unitarian preaching for a portion of the time, either through exchanges, or by the introduction of other preachers in connection with the pastor. They desired other changes in the same direction. Dr. Holmes could consent to no such proposals. The parish proposed to the pastor to unite in a mutual council to settle the matter. He consented, provided the church was made a party in the call.

The parish refused to unite with the church, and called an *ex-parte* council, composed entirely of Unitarians, which recommended to the parish to dismiss the pastor, which the parish at once proceeded to do. About one third of the members of the church adhered to the parish; the rest went with the excluded pastor to the Court-house, and instituted a separate service. The church and pastor called a council, which declared Dr. Holmes still the pastor of the church and parish, according to established usage, and advised him and the church to meet for worship as they had begun to do. A new ecclesiastical society was formed, to which was given the name of the first minister. On the 17th of December, Mr. Nehemiah Adams, Jr., was ordained as colleague pastor. The Lord greatly blessed the church. In a very short time the membership was doubled, and it has had a continual increase. In 1831, a new meeting-house was dedicated. In 1831, the portion of the church which remained with the parish demanded of the church the church funds, the communion service, the records, and a few minor things. Under the law, as it had been interpreted, the church was forced to relinquish the



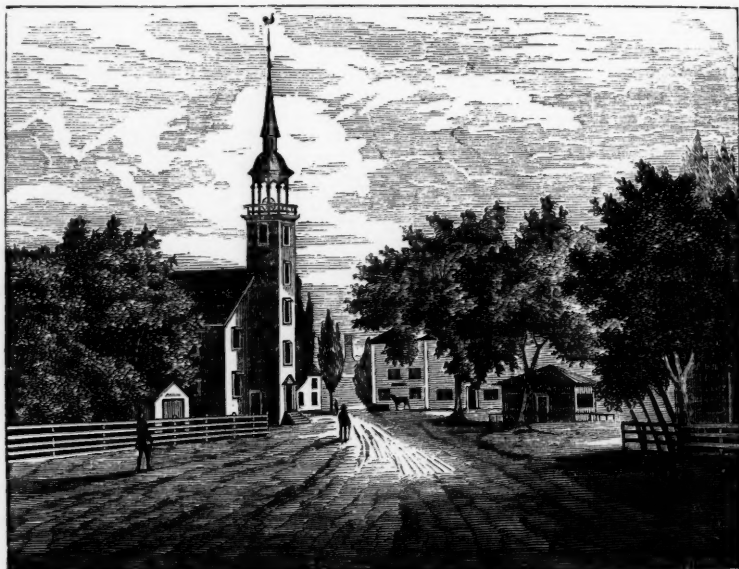
MEETING-HOUSE ERECTED IN 1830-31.

property. The Supreme Court of the State had decided that, so far as the holding of property was concerned, the part of the church, be it ever so small, which adheres to the parish, is to be regarded as the church. If not a single member remains with the parish, a new church can be organized, which would be entitled to all the property. The decision never commended itself to the legal profession, and a recent decision in the Supreme Court of the United States makes the name and being of a church a matter for the ecclesiastical tribunals, and not the civil, to determine. But even the remarkable decision made here, under which so many churches suffered the loss of their goods, did not affect the ecclesiastical relations of a church. For purposes of worship and work, — that is, for the real purposes of a church, — there might be a church separate from the parish. It was for the church authorities to determine. The decision, therefore, which took from the church its property, left it in other respects what it had always been, and it remains

the First Church in Cambridge. It is interesting to know that the autobiography of Thomas Shepard, of which mention has been made, was the means of furnishing the church with a communion service after that which had been used so long was taken away. This book, which had wandered far away, came into the possession of Mr. Adams, who had it printed, and with the proceeds of its sale furnished the table of the Lord with the service which is still used. Thus does the first pastor minister now to his old people in holy things.

In 1834, Mr. Adams resigned, to become the pastor of the Union Church in Boston, an office which he still adorns, and in which he has largely blessed the people.

On the 15th of April, 1835, Rev. John A. Albro was installed pastor, and he remained in the office till the corresponding day of 1865. His presence and work are too fresh to need any comment here. He was held in honor while he lived, and his memory is precious. His work abides. His hallowed influ-



MEETING-HOUSE ERECTED IN 1756.

ence can never cease. He was worthy to stand in the long line of ministers with whose names his own is written. The present pastor was installed January 24, 1867.

A few facts will conclude this sketch. This church has had eleven pastors. The average length of the pastorates which have closed is about twenty-two years. Only one has left this church to become the minister of another. As far as can now be ascertained, there have been four ruling elders and thirty-two deacons. Only one minister and four deacons have had a middle name, and these are since 1834.

The church has had six meeting-houses. The first stood a little south of the college; the second, third, and fourth, on the college grounds, very near the site of Dane Hall. The fourth house was taken down in 1833. "In this edifice," said President Quincy, "all the public commencements and solemn inaugurations, during more than seventy years, were celebrated; and no building in Massachusetts can compare with it in the number of distinguished men who at different times have been assembled within its walls." During the investment of Boston in 1775, Washington, who had his army here, worshipped in this house with his companions-in-arms. In 1779, the delegates from the different towns of Massachusetts met in this house and formed the constitution of the State. When Lafayette was here, in 1824, upon his "triumphal visit," the address of welcome was given to him in this church. The accompanying picture will give an idea of this noted building. The meeting-house of 1830-31, of which a cut is also given, is that in which the ministry of Dr. Albro was passed, and which was the home of the church after the separation from the parish. This fifth house stood near the first, on Mount Auburn Street. The sixth is on Garden Street, corner of Mason, fronting on the common. It was dedicated May 22, 1872. This house is of stone. The style of its architecture is popularly known as the Norman, or round-arch Gothic, but the historic name is the Romanesque. It is cruciform in shape, with a gallery over the vestibule, and another at one end of the transept for the organ and choir. It is designed to seat twelve hundred persons. In arranging the interior, the good Congregational principle of having what was wanted has been

strictly followed. At the rear of the church and connected with it is a chapel for the Sabbath School and social meetings.

The people decided that the pews should not be sold ; the house is, therefore, owned by the society, and not by separate individuals. A moderate rental was placed upon the pews for convenience, but any persons who do not feel able to pay the full price of the seats, are allowed to pay according to their own judgment of their ability.

By the doors of the church are boxes for the weekly offerings of those who desire to bring a gift when they come up to the house of the Lord.

Will those who read these notes upon this Puritan Church now pray for its peace and prosperity ?

ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

Cambridge, Mass.

NOTE. — Since the foregoing article was in type the Shepard Society has come into possession of the famous Cockerel which so long watched over the church in Hanover Street, and is now to surmount the lofty spire of the new church in Cambridge. This cockerel is of copper, and weighs some two hundred pounds. It measures between five and six feet in height, and also in breadth from the tip of the bill to the tip of the tail. It is of graceful form and very heavily gilded.

This bird was placed originally upon the "New Brick" Church, which was built in 1721. Tradition says that the design had an unfriendly personal reference to the minister of the New North Church, Rev. *Peter* Thacher, which is hardly credible. Early in the Revolution the Second Church, having lost its house of worship, united with the society of the "New Brick." The name of "Second Church" was given to the united body, which has now for a long time been under the pastoral care of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D. In 1845 a new house was erected, which was afterwards sold to the Methodists, and which was taken down in the widening of Hanover Street in 1871. The cockerel had already come down in the great gale, September, 1869, and was not afterwards restored to its place.

For a hundred and fifty years it looked down upon the great city, and was the spectator of some of the most stirring scenes in our national life. It served an important purpose as a landmark for ships entering the harbor. After presiding over Puritans, Unitarians, and Methodists, it now returns to its native position over a Puritan church. It may be added that the house occupied by the First Church in Cambridge at the time of its separation from the parish was also surmounted by a cockerel. This seems indeed to have been the original form of a vane, as the name weather-cock indicates.

A. MCK.

THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY OF 1637.

[Continued from page 285.]

MUCH has been said, within a few years past and previously, of the intolerance, the exclusiveness, and the persecuting spirit of the fathers of New England. They have been called narrow-minded, illiberal, and bigoted. No sooner, it is alleged, had they escaped the fangs of persecution in their native land, than they went to persecuting others. They persecuted Roger Williams, they persecuted the Antinomians, they persecuted the Baptists and the Quakers. A man must believe just as they did, or be deprived of his civil rights, whipped, banished, or even put to death. Many believe all this; and the charge is constantly repeated in conversation, in newspapers, in books, in stately reviews. In the ensuing discussion, I propose to show that not one word of this is true.

Before I begin, let me ask by what rule shall the conduct of our fathers be judged? Shall it be by the light of the present day, or by the light which they themselves enjoyed? This may make an important difference. Let it not be forgotten that while truth of all kinds is ever essentially the same, it becomes more distinct to human view, and more operative on human affairs, as time rolls on. All the truths of astronomy, of chemistry, of mechanics, were the same three thousand years ago as at the present time. But they were not understood, and did not influence human conduct as they now do. It is so with the science of politics, the science of government. The time was, and not long ago, when it was but little understood. Its true nature, ends, and aims were grievously misapprehended. It is only of late that the true ends and methods of government have faintly appeared. As Macaulay well remarks, government is an experimental science, as much so as engineering, botany, or medicine.¹ It takes a long time for political science, like the other sciences, to work itself clear of falsehoods and impurities. Progress is almost daily made, and the human race is continually advancing in this very important

¹ Macaulay's Review of Sir James Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution of 1688*.

department. Doubtless there is room for further improvement. What we now regard as the perfection of knowledge, our posterity may treat as the mere alphabet of science. It would not be just, however, for them to look upon us with contempt because we have made no greater advances. All scientific knowledge is the result of experiment; it can come in no other way.

Past ages must not be condemned for not acting according to the light we now enjoy. And yet all the censure, all the obloquy, which has been cast upon the fathers of New England, has arisen from a total disregard of this plain and obvious principle. It is folly and a burning shame to condemn them, as many do, for not coming up, in all respects, to what is now regarded as sound political science; for not being enlightened with our knowledge. It was absolutely impossible for even the greatest and best of men, two hundred years ago, to be what a very simple and inferior sort of men may, and indeed must be, in our day.

The treatment of Roger Williams by the authorities of Massachusetts, and their proceedings in the Antinomian Controversy of 1637, have been fruitful topics of remark with those who accuse our fathers of being actuated by a malignant spirit. Let us see what was really done in both cases.

Roger Williams was born in the year 1606, in Conwyl Cayo, County of Carmarthen, South Wales; entered as a student at Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, April 30, 1624, being then, according to the record, eighteen years old. It is said that at that time he enjoyed the patronage of Sir Edward Coke, and that, without finishing his course at the University, he studied law under that eminent jurist. He soon left the law for the gospel, and after a short exercise of his ministry in the established church, became a rigid separatist.

With his wife Mary, he landed at Nantasket, near Boston, from the ship "Lion," from Bristol, February 5, 1630-1. A few weeks only passed before the church at Salem invited him to succeed the saintly Higginson as their teacher. He soon contrived to make himself obnoxious to the government by denying the power of the magistrate to punish certain offences, which are still held to be criminal, and which in Massa-

chusetts, even at the present day, subject the offender to punishment, — such as perjury, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking. Not long after he withdrew from the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and during a residence at Plymouth of two years was one of the ministers of the church there, — the separatist, Ralph Smith, being the other. While there, according to Bradford, "he fell into some strange opinions, and from opinion to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them somewhat abruptly" and returned to Salem. Bradford describes him as "a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment." Indeed, the want of a sound judgment was his great fault; he was an impulsive and hot-headed young man, not long out of his teens, all the while exposing himself to trouble, and lacking that caution which the circumstances of the day rendered so imperative. He "refused to join with the congregation at Boston because they would not make public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the Churches of England while they lived there; and maintained that the civil magistrate should not punish any breach of the first table."¹ If neither perjury, nor profane swearing, nor Sabbath-breaking may be punished, what becomes of human society?

In the winter of 1634-5, he caused great alarm by publicly maintaining that the patent under which the colony was settled was of no validity; that the king told a lie when he said that his subjects had discovered the country; that the king's grant amounted to nothing; that the titles to land under it were absolutely worthless."² The language employed by him not only created serious uneasiness in the colony, but it might occasion high displeasure at the English court, and expose the colony to the wrath of the king.

The relations of the colony to the royal government were at this time (1635) very critical. The king had demanded the return of the charter, and had appointed a council having full

¹ Winthrop, I, 53.

² Winthrop, I, 122. Felt's *Eccl. Hist. of N. E.*, I, 174. Neal's *Hist. of N. E.* (Ed. 1747), p. 158.

power to regulate all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, in the English colonies. The conduct of Mr. Williams, therefore, tended to provoke the displeasure of the king, the speedy interference of this council, and the overthrow of the colonial authority.

To guard against this great and imminent danger, the General Court, in March, 1635, passed an order requiring all males over sixteen years of age, whether freemen or not, to take an oath of fidelity, obliging them to obey the government of the colony, to support it with their persons and estates, and to endeavor to the utmost to maintain its rights and its authority.¹ In direct opposition to this very important and needful requisition, Mr. Williams stoutly maintained that it is morally wrong for a magistrate to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; and that false swearing is not to be punished by the civil authority. This doctrine, of course, not only stands in the way of the common administration of justice, but of the defence of the country against invasion. It strikes at the very root of civil society. He also induced the church in Salem, of which he had lately been installed pastor, to write to the churches of which the magistrates were members, complaining of their official acts, and urging that they be disciplined for the same.² This was a plain moving of sedition; for had the magistrates been put under discipline, it would have amounted to disfranchisement, and consequently to deposition from office. He tried to induce the church at Salem to renounce all communion with the other churches of the colony; and when this was not done, he withdrew from fellowship with his own church, and even from his own wife, refusing to join in family prayer or grace at table with her, because she continued to frequent their communion.³

All this while, Mr. Williams was not a freeman of the colony; not entitled to vote; not a citizen; but merely a sojourner, a transitory resident, like our merchants and students in Germany; and of course not entitled to any part in public

¹ Felt's N. E., I, 178, 182, 208.

² Felt's N. E., I, 225. Palfrey's N. E., I, 411.

³ Winthrop, I, 162 *et seq.* Morton's Memorial, 153. Felt's N. E., I, 208, 212, 224, 232.

affairs. He refused to be made a citizen, *i. e.* a freeman of the colony. He was meddling with what did not belong to him. It is asserted by some who must be supposed to know,¹ that he advised Endicot, who was a parishioner of his, to cut the cross out of the royal colors, which amounted to a denial of the authority of the king.

It had now become evident that Mr. Williams could not, with safety to the colony, longer remain within its bounds. In view of the extreme peril in which they were placed by his proceedings, the General Court passed, September 3, 1635, the following order: "Whereas, Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation both of the magistrates and churches here, and yet maintaineth the same without retraction; it is therefore ORDERED, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing: which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the Court."²

The liberty to remain for six weeks was extended till the next spring, but on the express condition that in the interval he should "not go about to draw others to his opinions."³

In January, 1635-6, the Court of Assistants⁴ were informed that this condition had been utterly disregarded by Mr. Williams, and that he was still keeping up an excitement at Salem. The magistrates therefore felt justified in sending him away to England, where he properly belonged, in a ship ready to sail. They sent for him to come to Boston; and when he refused to come, they despatched Capt. Underhill in a pinnace to apprehend and put him on board the ship then lying at anchor at Nantasket. Underhill, arriving at his house, found that he had escaped into the woods three days before. It seems he was extremely reluctant to be sent to England, knowing

¹ Edward Winslow, though a friend to Williams, asserts this, in his *Reply to Gorton, Hypocrisie Unmasked*, pp. 65, 66. Hubbard also affirms it.

² Mass. Col. Records, I, 156. Felt's N. E., I, 231. Palfrey's N. E., I, 412.

³ Felt's N. E., I, 237.

⁴ In modern parlance, the Senate or Council.

that there he would be more severely dealt with than here. The hardship, therefore, of travelling on foot through the woods, in the dead of winter, to the shores of Narraganset Bay, and "for fourteen weeks not knowing what bread or bed did mean," was a matter of his own choice.

The case of Mr. Williams was not a novel one in the colony. Before this time John and Samuel Browne, Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Walford, Henry Lynn, Thomas Gray, and others, had been sent away as persons whose presence was dangerous to the peace of the community. But they had not the ability of Williams to make a favorable impression of their case. It is a great mistake to represent, as the brilliant, but not always judicious and careful, Bancroft has done, that Roger Williams stood alone as the apostle and champion of religious liberty.¹ It cannot be fairly shown that the principle of religious freedom entered at all into this dispute. He was not charged with heresy. He was not punished for a mere opinion. He was dealt with as a turbulent man, a disturber of the public peace, and for nothing else.

Mr. Williams was doubtless a man of great private worth. He was eminently pure, disinterested, conscientious, kind, free from malice and personal rancor. Those who differed from him, those who banished him, allowed him the possession of great virtues. He was, nevertheless, a very dangerous man, and the more so from his many good qualities. His very conscientiousness pushed him to dangerous extremes. Of all the evils that have ever afflicted mankind, none have exceeded those which have arisen from a misguided conscience. It was so in the case now under review. Because the consent of the Indians to our occupancy of the country had not been previously obtained, he stiffly maintained that the charter was a mere nullity, and should be sent back to the monarch who gave it. That monarch he taxed with uttering lies and blasphemy in that document. Of course, if the charter was a nullity, all the rights of property acquired under it were void. If the charter was a nullity, how was the colony to be protected against the efforts of Gorges, Mason, and the English hierarchy? He taught, moreover, that the oath of fidelity, imposed by the

¹ Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, I, 374 *et seq.*

General Court, was unlawful, and this, too, at a time of extreme peril, when the government of the colony and all good citizens needed to be assured of the fidelity of every person residing within its bounds. He would not himself take the oath; he had from the beginning refused to take the "freemen's oath," and thereby had forfeited the protection of the government.

To Mr. Williams is freely accorded the merit of good intentions. It is no less true that his efforts were imperilling the very existence of the colony, and of American liberty in all coming time. He was weakening the bonds which hold society together; he was sapping the foundations of social and civil order. Ignorantly, perhaps, but really, he was engaged in the same game which Laud and the high-church party of England were then pursuing. He was, certainly not to the same extent, but really, pursuing a course of intolerance.

The questions between Mr. Williams and the fathers of Massachusetts were questions of civil government. The treatment which he suffered was no invasion of the rights of conscience. *He was not in any sense a martyr to the truth.* He had full liberty to entertain what opinions he chose, considered as opinions merely. His relations with his Maker were never a matter of inquiry. The authorities had no wish, and never attempted, to interfere with any matter between his soul and God. He was banished because he was disturbing the civil order of the community. He was stirring up civil strife and revolt. He was sent away from the jurisdiction because it was not safe for him longer to remain within it.

Mr. Williams himself, in a book published by him in London in 1643,¹ states the grounds of his banishment to have been the following opinions:—

"1. That we have not our Land by Pattent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it:² and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Pattent.

¹ Entitled "Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, examined and answered."

² Our fathers always bought land of the Indians, when they could find owners, except the Pequot and Narraganset lands, which they obtained by right of conquest. The "Pattent" protected them only against claimants from Europe. It was never designed to operate against the rights of the Indians, nor ever used for that purpose. Our fathers paid the Indians all it was worth to them, who used it not for agriculture, but for hunting. The Indians declared themselves satisfied with the price. See Palfrey's Hist. of N. E., I, 387.

"2. That it is not lawful to call a wicked person to swear, or to pray, as being actions of God's worship.

"3. That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England.

"4. That the Civil Magistrate's power extends only to the Bodies, and Goods, and outward state of men."

To this publication Mr. Cotton replied, in a labored discussion, in which he maintained, that it was not for the mere holding of opinions, but for the TURBULENT ASSERTION OF THEM, that Mr. Williams was banished. He states, moreover, that the two things which caused the banishment of Mr. Williams, were these: 1. His violent and tumultuous carriage against the patent. 2. His vehement opposition to the Oath of Fidelity. The sentence of banishment was hastened, Mr. Cotton says, by the action of Mr. Williams in inducing the Salem church to join with him in appealing to the churches against the proceedings of the magistrates, which was a thoroughly seditious act. Mr. Cotton shows, that to renounce the patent, as Mr. Williams violently demanded, would have subverted the fundamental state and government of the country."¹

John Quincy Adams, whose knowledge of the proper sphere of government no man living will question, asks with emphasis: "Can we blame the founders of the Massachusetts colony for banishing him [Williams] from within their jurisdiction? In the annals of religious persecution, is there to be found a martyr more gently dealt with by those against whom he began the war of intolerance?"²

In a preface, written in 1867, by Rev. J. Lewis Diman, of Providence, to Cotton's Reply to Williams, that writer says: "The unmistakable tone of this whole discussion [between Cotton and Williams] shows that his rigid principle of SEPARATION was what made him suspected and disliked. This attitude, maintained from first to last, furnishes the real explanation." Mr. Cotton, and the ministers and magistrates of Massachusetts, were PURITANS, who at that time had not formally separated from the church of England.³ Mr. Williams

¹ Cotton's Reply to Williams, pp. 27-30.

² Address before Mass. Hist. Soc., 1843.

³ Winthrop and his company, in their address on leaving the Old World, call the Church of England "our deare mother."

was a thorough-going SEPARATIST. He held the Church of England to be Antichrist, and refused to commune with any who thought otherwise. It clearly appears, contrary to the present prevailing impression, that through the whole controversy Williams maintained the "exclusive side," the side of intolerance, bigotry, and persecution; while his opponents entertained more generous views, and held the "liberal side" of the question. It was not till eight years after, that Williams embraced those enlarged views of free toleration which have gained for him so much respect, though he was by no means the first, or the only one, by whom they were entertained.

It is as clear as the sun at noonday, that Williams was sent away from the colony on political grounds only. The Baptists claim him as theirs, and espouse his cause, for the sake of making us trouble; but he was not a Baptist till some years afterwards.

Roger Williams is often credited with the high honor of being the first to plead for the liberty of religious opinion; but full religious toleration was established by law in Holland, under William the Silent, sixty years before his time, a whole generation before he was born, and was advocated in 1609, by Henry Jacob, pastor of the first Congregational church formed in England, in a treatise printed when Williams was still in his nurse's arms. It was not till eight years after Williams left Massachusetts, that he came to entertain the idea of toleration.

A review of the case of Williams seemed to be necessary to prepare the way for a proper consideration of the dealings of the founders of Massachusetts with the Antinomians of 1637. The matters in dispute were essentially the same in both cases; the proper treatment of each case depends substantially on the same principles; and the affair of Williams had scarcely come to an issue, when the Antinomian controversy began.

The two chief leaders of the Antinomians were Rev. John Wheelwright and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson.

Mr. Wheelwright was born at Saleby, a village two miles north from Alford, a market-town in Lincolnshire, England,

about the year 1592. He was educated at Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. B. in 1614, and that of A. M. in 1618. He was married, November 8, 1621, to Mary Storre, daughter of Rev. Thomas Storre, vicar of Bilsby, a small parish in the near vicinity of Alford. How long he lived with this wife is not known; but it is certain that in a few years she died, and he married Mary Hutchinson, born 1605, daughter of Edward and Susanna Hutchinson, of Alford. He succeeded his father-in-law in 1623, as vicar of Bilsby, but was silenced for non-conformity in 1632. Finding himself unpleasantly situated in England, he determined to remove to this country; and accordingly, with his wife and five children, and his wife's mother, landed at Boston, May 26, 1636. He and his wife and her mother were admitted to the church in that town on the 12th of June following.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was the daughter of Rev. Francis Marbury, of Alford, in Lincolnshire, and was baptized at Alford June 22, 1591. At the age of twenty she was married to William Hutchinson, eldest son of Edward and Susanna Hutchinson, of Alford. William Hutchinson was therefore the brother of Mary, the second wife of Rev. John Wheelwright. He was a prosperous merchant of that place.

Mrs. Hutchinson and her husband early embraced the principles of the Puritans. With her husband, and their family of ten children, she landed in Boston from the ship "Griffin,"¹ Sept. 18, 1634. In the same ship came about two hundred passengers, among whom were Rev. John Lothrop and Rev. Zechariah Symmes. Mrs. Hutchinson came for religion's sake, and apparently to enjoy the preaching of Rev. John Cotton, formerly her neighbor in Lincolnshire, who came to the New-England Boston the year before. Mr. Hutchinson was admitted to the church in Boston on the 26th of October,

¹ This ship had brought to Boston, in September, 1633, those famous ministers, John Cotton, afterwards of Boston, Thomas Hooker, afterwards of Hartford, and Samuel Stone, also of Hartford, together with John Haynes, afterwards governor. It has always been understood that the Indian locality Shawmut, at first called by the English Trimountain, received its name of Boston out of respect to Mr. Cotton. But as that name was imposed by the Court of Assistants, at their session held Sept. 7, 1630, it must have been under the expectation that Mr. Cotton would be the minister there, though he did not arrive till three years after.

and his wife on the 2d of November, one week later. The delay in her case arose from some misgivings entertained by the church, occasioned by statements made by the Rev. Zechariah Symmes, a fellow-passenger with her in the "Griffin." On the voyage, she had startled him and other passengers by some eccentricities and speculations of hers in matters of religion, and especially by "revelations" she professed to have received. According to her own statement at her trial, November, 1637, revelations from heaven were with her matters of frequent occurrence. Being then asked how she knew herself to be correct, she answered by "immediate revelation." After Mr. Cotton came to New England, "it was revealed to me," she said, "that I must go thither also, and that there I should be persecuted, and suffer much trouble."¹ She also said, "Nothing of any importance ever happened to me without being revealed to me beforehand."²

At the time of which we are about to speak, she was forty-five years of age. Her husband, "a very honest, peaceable man," was a deacon of the church in Boston, having been chosen to that office November 27, 1636. Her sons, Edward, Richard, and Francis, and her daughters, Faith and Bridget, were members of the same church.

Mr. Wheelwright, on his arrival, found the colony in an anxious, alarmed, unsettled state. Only four months had elapsed since Roger Williams, to avoid being shipped off for England as a disturber of the public peace, had taken to the woods, and made the best of his way to Rhode Island. The removal by Endicot and others of the cross of Saint George from the royal ensign had exposed the colony to the suspicion of disloyalty.³

It amounted in fact to a renunciation of the royal authority; and the enemies of the colony in England were prepared to

¹ "A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians," p. 38.

² See Hutchinson's Hist., Vol. II. Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. E., I, 261.

³ Not only had the cross been cut out of the flag used by the train-bands of Salem: the same thing had been done in other places. The un mutilated flag was not to be found even in the fort on Castle Island. The cross was regarded by the Roman Catholics with superstitious reverence, and was therefore held by our fathers to be a relic of Antichrist. "The Papal Cross is an abomination that no Puritan could bear." Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. E., I, 291 *et seq.*

take advantage of it. The charter had been demanded by the Privy Council,¹ and a compliance being delayed, a writ of *quo warranto* had been filed in Westminster Hall against the Massachusetts Company.² The Pequot war, then imminent, threatened the speedy destruction of all the English settlements north of Virginia. The very existence of the colony was at stake; and a crisis had arisen, demanding the utmost circumspection and prudence on the part of the guardians of the infant commonwealth.

It was at such a time as this that Mrs. Hutchinson began to promulgate her eccentric views, and to acquire for them an influence which greatly increased the public agitation and danger.

That we may not anticipate too much of the eventful story we will here say, that five months after the arrival of Mr. Wheelwright in Boston, it was proposed by some of the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson,³ that he should be associated with Cotton and Wilson in the spiritual oversight of the church there. The proposal was altogether insidious, since a vote to that effect would have ensured the ascendancy of the new party in Boston, and perhaps in the colony. Winthrop had the address to parry the blow, by suggesting that the church already had two ministers, a pastor and a teacher, which were all that the Congregational polity allowed; and moreover, he feared that the peace of the church might be endangered by calling Mr. Wheelwright to office, "seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations." Mr. Wheelwright had lately advanced, in a public exercise, some novel, and, it was thought, erroneous and even dangerous sentiments. He had said that the believer was more than a creature, and that the Holy Ghost and the believer are united.⁴ Being called on in the church to explain his meaning, he did not deny that he said this. He was already committed to the views of Mrs. Hutchinson, of which this was one. But to gratify the friends of the new doctrines as far as possible, the church voted that

¹ April, 1634.

² September, 1635.

³ She had already been in Boston twenty months.

⁴ Winthrop, I, 202. Palfrey's N. E., I, 475. Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. E., I, 263.

Mr. Wheelwright have liberty to preach at Mount Wollaston.¹ In pursuance of this vote, which was passed October 30, 1636, Mr. Wheelwright preached at "the Mount" about a year. He had a grant from the town of Boston of two hundred and fifty acres of land at Mount Wollaston, February 2, 1636-7.²

Drake, in his *History of Boston* (p. 220), supposes, singularly enough, that Mr. Wilson was unwilling to accept Mr. Wheelwright as a colleague, lest this "brilliant young minister" should eclipse him! But Wheelwright was now forty-five years of age, and only four years younger than Wilson.

Before proceeding further, we must take notice of a fact in our early history which has scarcely ever been adverted to by those who have written of those times, though vital to the whole matter. The fact is this. It was a CHURCH OF CHRIST which settled on these shores in 1628 and the following years. They came for religious ends, and for no other. Everything was shaped by religion and subordinate to it. The State was an outgrowth from the Church, was its offspring and its handmaid. In all affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the Church took precedence of the State, and its interests were paramount. The whole civil administration necessarily partook of the character thus imparted. The complaints we sometimes hear about a union of Church and State, in the early days of Massachusetts, are thoroughly idle, silly, and gratuitous. In the circumstances of the case, it could not have been otherwise. For it was literally true, that the State was only the CHURCH acting in secular and civil affairs. That the fact was as here stated, is manifest from all our early documents and all our early historians. This singular fact explains many things

¹ Records of First Church in Boston. Several members of the Boston church resided at Mount Wollaston, — now the town of Quincy, — and others had plantations there. They had previously attended meeting in Boston, eight miles distant. This was found very inconvenient, especially in bad weather, and they petitioned, August 24, 1636, — just before what is noted in the text, — for a separate church. The church in Boston were not willing to part with so many of their members, many of whom were able men; and as a compromise, the Mount Wollaston people were allowed to have Mr. Wheelwright preach there. There was no church there, distinct from that in Boston, till September 17, 1639, nearly three years after this time.

² Town Records of Boston.

otherwise inexplicable, and answers many objections otherwise unanswerable.

It explains, for instance, and fully justifies that famous order, passed May 18, 1631, at the second General Court held after the transfer of the charter to these shores, providing that none but members of the church, in good standing, should be freemen of the colony, and exercise the right of suffrage. It explains and justifies the conduct of the government of Massachusetts in the case of Roger Williams, of John and Samuel Browne, Thomas Walford, and now in the case of Mr. Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and their adherents. It is a total, inexcusable mistake to suppose and to say, that these persons were punished merely because of their opinions. *They were not punished at all*, in the customary acceptation of that word. They were simply excluded from the church planted on these shores. This church had the right to say who should cohabit with it, and it chose to exercise the right; it owned the whole territory, and by charter had the right to say who should live upon it. It had the same right that every householder has to decide who shall occupy rooms in his house, and come to bed and board in his family; the right every man has to choose his own company.¹

This state of affairs did not make a "Theocracy,"² as is sometimes inconsiderately, nay, foolishly supposed. If Massachusetts was then a "Theocracy," then every Christian church, and every Christian family, and every mercantile establishment conducted on Christian principles, is now a theocracy; for in neither case was anything done beyond this, to live according to the mind and will of God, as signified to us in the Holy Scriptures. In neither case is any direct and immediate revelation from God enjoyed or expected, as in the theocracy of old.

Mrs. Hutchinson is first brought to our notice by Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, under date of October, 1636, in

¹ Their charter gave them the right to exclude all persons who would not concur in their main design. The land was theirs as much as a man's farm is his.

² The word "Theocracy" is defined by Webster: "Government of a State by the immediate direction of God; or, the State thus governed. Of this species the Israelites furnish an illustrious example. The theocracy lasted till the time of Saul." Worcester's definition is, "A government directed by God." The etymology of the word should be sufficient.

these words: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church in Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: first, that the Person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; second, that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these errors grew many branches; as, first, our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."¹

The author of the "Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians," etc., who could be no other than Governor Winthrop himself,² thus describes Mrs. Hutchinson:

"She was a woman of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man, though in understanding and judgment inferior to many women."³

Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder Working Providence," calls her "the master-piece of women's wit."⁴ The anagram of her name — "The Nonesuch"⁵ — shows the estimation in which her talents were held by the people. None at the present day will doubt that she was a woman of rare ability. Her husband is described by Winthrop as "a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife."⁶

¹ Winthrop, I, 200. Palfrey's N. E., I, 473. Felt's New England, I, 261.

² Rev. Robert Baillie, Principal of Glasgow, a Scots Covenanter, in his "Dissuasive from the Errours of the Times," published 1645, speaks of Winthrop as the author of the "Short Story," which book had appeared only the year before. Rev. Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity in the University of St. Andrew's, Scotland, in his "Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist," London, 1648, cites the "Short Story" as Winthrop's. He says of the book, "penned, as I am informed, by Mr. Winthrope, Governour, a faithfull witness, and approved by Mr. T. Weld, in his preface to the book," and then quotes largely from it. "Survey," p. 171.

In 1648, Cotton's "Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared," refers to the "Short Story" as the testimony of Mr. Winthrop and "Mr. Wells," meaning by the latter, Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury, who wrote the preface. A careful comparison of some passages in Winthrop's Journal with some passages in the "Short Story," will satisfy the reader of the identity of the authorship in both cases, being in each case word for word.

³ "Short Story," p. 31.

⁴ W. W. Providence, c. 62.

⁵ The letters are the same as in HUCHENSON. Magnalia, Hartford edit., Vol. II, p. 447. Grahame, I, 177.

⁶ Winthrop, I, 295.

Soon after Mrs. Hutchinson's arrival, she endeared herself to the people by many acts of kindness and benevolence towards those who were in any need. Her husband being in good circumstances, she had the means of helping the poor and distressed. Her benevolent attentions were especially rendered to persons of her own sex, in times of peculiar anxiety and danger. The important services thus afforded, as they were performed with a cheerful heart and without pay, soon procured for her high esteem and great influence. She was welcomed in many families, and became favorably known to many individuals of both sexes. Desirous to promote the spiritual welfare, as well as bodily comfort, of all who came in her way, she took occasion to converse with them respecting their hopes for eternity, and failed not to warn them against trusting to an outside righteousness, and a religion of mere form; proposing in its stead the righteousness of Christ, and the inward witness of the Spirit. These appeals were well received, and for a time none spoke but in her praise.

Rev. Thomas Shepard says, in his Autobiography,¹ that on his settlement in Cambridge, then called Newtown, which was in February, in 1636, "the whole country was exercised [agitated] with the opinions of Familists, begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised to a great height by Mr. Vane," etc. From this it appears that the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson had obtained extensive circulation and influence some months before the arrival of Mr. Wheelwright.

The early settlers of Massachusetts were actuated by an intense religious spirit. Religion was to them the first and chief concern. This alone had impelled them to come over into this wilderness. For this they had incurred the toils and expense of cutting down the forest and building houses. This and this only had sustained them in all their perils and hardships. Most of their thoughts, and all their plans, centred in this great subject. All their time, not absolutely required for secular business, was given to religious discourse. Religious meetings were more frequent than any other, and the Sabbath,

¹ This Autobiography existed only in manuscript till 1832, when it was printed for the benefit of the "Shepard Church," then recently formed in Cambridge, with additions by Rev. Nehemiah Adams, its pastor at that time.

from beginning to end, was spent in religious employments. On the evening of the Lord's day the sermons which had been listened to in public, were repeated at home by the younger, and reviewed by the elder members of the family. Meetings were also held during the week by the male members of the church, for recapitulating and discussing the Sabbath services. Books were scarce, and in the absence of newspapers, magazines, and circulating libraries, these meetings afforded important means of intellectual improvement, as well as of growth in grace.

Mrs. Hutchinson evidently thought she was supplying a real and serious deficiency, and rendering a much-needed service, by instituting similar meetings for the women. She felt herself qualified to give instruction on religious subjects, and supposed herself moved by an impulse from above. "Her mind was prone to theological speculations, and the happiness of her life consisted in religious exercises and investigations. In keenness of perception and subtlety of reasoning, she had no superiors, and her gifts as a leader of devotional exercises were equally rare and surprising."¹ The ladies of Boston, hitherto debarred in great measure from meetings of their own sex, resorted to Mrs. Hutchinson's exercises with special alacrity and satisfaction. From sixty to eighty females met weekly, and sometimes twice in the week, at her house, to listen to her remarks on the sermons of the previous Sabbath.² The sermons of Mr. Cotton, and those of her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, after his arrival, received her unqualified commendation; while those of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cotton's colleague, and of the country ministers, who were occasionally heard in Boston, were severely condemned. Mr. Cotton she had known in England during his ministry of twenty years in the Lincolnshire Boston, not far from the place of her former residence. She had listened to his preaching there with great

¹ Upham's *Life of Vane*, in Sparks' *Am. Biography*, p. 124.

² The Order of Court which banished Mrs. Hutchinson, Nov. 1637, says that she kept two public lectures every week in her house, "whereto sixty or eighty persons did usually resort, reproaching all the ministers except Mr. Cotton for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and as not being able ministers of the New Testament." One of these lectures was for women only; to the other men also were admitted.

delight; and she averred that after he and Mr. Wheelwright were silenced [about 1630] there was not one minister in England whom she felt it safe to hear.¹ On one occasion, when the excellent Wilson rose to speak, she abruptly left the church.² A similar affront was offered to other preachers.

In addition to her meetings for women, Mrs. Hutchinson had a meeting at which both men and women were present.³ On these occasions she urged her opinions with no small energy and zeal, and with remarkable success. Such were the talent and the address with which she maintained her views, that she found herself at the head of a powerful party, including Vane,⁴ the governor, Dummer and Coddington among the

¹ "Short Story," p. 38. Felt's *Eccl. Hist. of N. E.*, I, 261.

² Palfrey's *Hist. of N. E.*, I, 475.

³ On her trial, in answer to a question from the deputy-governor, Mr. Dudley, she said she held two meetings weekly at her house, one of which was open to both sexes. Felt's *N. E.*, I, 324.

⁴ Henry Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, was born in 1612, and was therefore now only twenty-four years of age. He was of an ancient and eminent family in England. The honor of knighthood was conferred on his ancestor, Sir Henry Vane, for his valor at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. His father, Henry Vane, was knighted by James I in 1611, and continued for more than thirty years to exert a controlling influence in Parliament and in the cabinet. In September, 1639, he was made principal secretary of state. At the time of which the text speaks, William Laud, Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and the elder Vane, were the most powerful subjects of the English monarchy.

The younger Vane arrived in Boston, Oct. 3, 1635. The father belonged to the high-church party in England; the son had adopted the cause of the Puritans, and remained steadfast in this attachment to the end. The father had obtained from the king, who was quite willing to spare him from England, a license that the son might leave that country, and abide here three years. Neal (Daniel, author of the *History of the Puritans*) calls him "a warm, hot-headed young gentleman," and says his father was averse to his going to New England; but the king, being informed of the son's earnest inclination to go, obliged him to consent to his absence for three years. [*History of New England*, p. 161.] The people of "the Bay" thought so highly of him, that they elected him governor in the May following his arrival, with the mature and discreet Winthrop, nearly twice as old, as his deputy! According to Mather, "he was elected to office by the industry of some who thought to make a tool of him." *Magnalia*, III, 77.

Disappointed at the turn of public affairs in Massachusetts, and chagrined at the loss of his popularity, as manifested by the election of Winthrop to succeed him in May, 1637, he left the country forever, Aug. 3, 1637. In June, 1640, he received from Charles I the honor of knighthood. He was an active and influential member of the Long Parliament, being elected for Kingston upon Hull, and was a member of the Council of State after the execution of the king. As treasurer and commissioner for the navy, he had almost the exclusive direction of that im-

magistrates, all the members of the Boston church, save Wilson, Winthrop, and three more, besides some individuals in other towns. "All sorts of persons were found to have been attracted by her spells, and involved in her tenets." The rapid spread of the new doctrines was due in no small degree to the talents and influence of Vane. But the country ministers, — not inferior, on the whole, to those of Boston, — Eliot and Weld of Roxbury, Symmes of Charlestown, Shepard of Cambridge, Phillips of Watertown, Peter of Salem, and others like them, were strongly opposed to her sentiments and to her proceedings.

The main points of the sharp controversy which now ensued, — which indeed had been smouldering for a year or more, and which is known in our history as the ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY, — were these. The ministers of the country towns, and Mr. Wilson, pastor of the church in Boston,¹ held that a

portant branch of the public service. The brilliant successes of Blake and Monk in the war with Holland were the result, in great part, of his wise and efficient administration. He was not one of those excluded from Parliament by "Pride's Purge," but was so disgusted with that proceeding that he vacated his seat, and so had no hand in the trial and execution of Charles. When the remains of the Long Parliament, deservedly called "The Rump," were, after sitting more than twelve years, contriving ways and means to perpetuate their power, and were, one and all, turned out by Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane was one of the excluded members. Attempting to remonstrate, he was bluffed off with that famous speech of the Lord General, — "O, Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!"

Sir Henry Vane was, in violation of the king's express promise, executed on Tower Hill, June 14, 1662. He was doubtless a man of eminent ability, and a true patriot; "incorrupt and disinterested," says Hallam, "inflexibly true and just, but too much of a theorist for those stirring times." "Sir Henry Vane, the younger," says Bancroft, "was a man of the purest mind; a statesman of spotless integrity; whose name the progress of intelligence and liberty will erase from the rubric of fanatics and traitors, and insert high among the aspirants after truth and the martyrs for liberty." *Hist. of United States*, I, 383.

He has been too much underrated by the Massachusetts writers, with the exception of Upham, who has perhaps erred in the other extreme. His course in Massachusetts we cannot think very creditable to him. His subsequent career in England was brilliant and honorable. He stood in the front rank of debaters in the Long Parliament; the contriver of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the head of the Independent party. Milton's magnificent sonnet to him was well deserved.

¹ The other minister, Mr. Cotton, was not the pastor, but the *teacher*, of the church.

man, in order to possess evidence of being accepted of God and in the way to heaven, must exhibit the fruits of inward piety in a truly religious outward life ; that genuine religion in the heart would show itself in the conduct ; in the language of the day, they held that sanctification is the only sure evidence of justification. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents maintained that nothing of this kind is necessary. They held to an immediate witness of the Spirit, a direct revelation from God, coming in the form of a promise, and certifying to the believer's good estate. Christ formed in the soul, the Holy Ghost in the believer, these were sufficient ; a holy life was no evidence of acceptance with God ; in the phrase of the day, sanctification was no evidence of justification.¹ Mrs. Hutchinson, moreover, was understood to maintain that a man is justified, or accepted of God [and therefore in a state of salvation], *before* he believes ; that faith is in no sense the cause of our justification ; that the Holy Ghost is personally united to the believer ; and that revelations from God to the soul, having equal authority with the Scripture, and indeed superseding it, are to be expected and are actually enjoyed.²

The able and clear-headed leaders of the Massachusetts colony felt these to be matters of deep and solemn import. What can be of higher moment to any man than the question of his standing in the sight of God, — his well-being for eternity ?

Some attempts have been made to show that the strife between the two parties was one of mere words. Even the

¹ Mr. Shepard puts it thus : "The principall opinion and seed of all the rest was this, viz, that a Christian should not take any evidence of God's special grace and love towards him by the sight of any graces or conditionall evangelicall promises to fayth or sanctification in way of ratiocination ; for this was evidence, and so a way of workes ; but it must be without the sight of any grace, faith, holiness or special change in himself, — by immediate revelation," etc. That is, we are entitled to feel ourselves in the way to heaven, — not because we are conscious of a great spiritual change ; not because we do believe in Christ, that we accept his offers of mercy, and trust wholly in him for salvation, and that we are really endeavoring to obey him and keep God's commandments ; nothing of this sort is necessary ; an immediate revelation from God that we are safe, supersedes it all. Of course, self-inquiry and self-examination are useless. *Autobiography*, p. 59.

² Neal's *Hist. of N. E.*, edit. 1747, p. 183. "Short Story," the Preface. Felt's *Ecll. Hist. of N. E.*, I, 267, 268. Hutchinson, her descendant, gives the same account in his *History*, II, 46.

discreet Shepard, of Cambridge, though opposed to the new opinions, in the election sermon of May, 1637, endeavored to make it appear that the difference between the contending parties was not fundamental. Perhaps it was not. Both parties held the great Protestant doctrine of justification through the merit of Christ alone, and of a radical change of heart by the special operation of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Cotton, having been for a full year in apparent harmony with Mrs. Hutchinson, came to see that his own views were not dissimilar from those of his colleague and the country ministers. The points on which they agreed were of far more importance than the points on which they differed. In the heat of controversy, it is common for points of difference to be greatly exaggerated.

There is room for supposing, notwithstanding the sharp contention of the time, that Mrs. Hutchinson was truly a Christian woman, and that both she and her opponents held the essential truths of the gospel, as commonly professed by the Protestant churches. The question between them amounted to this: How am I to know that I am in the way to heaven? Mr. Wilson and the country ministers maintained that it must be by careful and thorough self-examination, and that the evidence must, partly at least, be furnished by a holy life, and therefore be patent to the view of others. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents held that the evidence need not, any part of it, be visible to others; that indeed the evidence is of such a nature that it cannot be seen by others; that it is wholly a matter between a man's own soul and God, so much so that the most exemplary life does not, and cannot, to ourselves, increase the evidence of our acceptance with God. They insisted very strongly on an inward witness of the Spirit, amounting to an immediate revelation from God, that I am in a state of favor and acceptance with him. It is a promise from God of my salvation, made personally and immediately to my soul, — superseding all other evidence of my good estate, rendering all other evidence vain and worthless. This they said was salvation by grace; if I seek other evidence, if I try by self-examination to find out whether I truly submit to God, accepting his offers of

mercy and sincerely endeavoring to live in obedience to his commands, this is salvation by works.¹

Such was the teaching of Mrs. Hutchinson. of Mr. Wheelwright, and of others who went with them. A great Scriptural truth was at the bottom, to wit, that salvation is wholly of grace; nothing that we can do, or that we can be the subjects of, furnishing the meritorious ground or basis of our pardon. But false and fatal inferences were drawn from it: first, that a man may be sure of salvation without a holy, and even without a moral life; secondly, that salvation is assured to us by a direct revelation from heaven. And then it naturally followed, that revelations from God to the soul are to be expected, and are actually enjoyed; not only touching the affair of our salvation, but in reference to the more important concerns of life, these revelations having equal, and, indeed, superior authority to the Scriptures. It followed, also, and was maintained that

¹ How different was this woman's religion, and her whole deportment, from that of the missionary, David Brainerd, who has been regarded, and not without some just reason, as being the holiest man, the man who lived nearest to God, of any in modern times!

"I have had occasion," says Edwards, "to read his diary over and over, and very particularly and critically to review every passage in it, and I find no one instance of a strong impression on his imagination, through his whole life. There was no hearing God or Christ immediately speaking to him; no sudden suggestions of words or sentences as immediately spoken to him; no new objective revelations; no strong suggestions of secret facts. There is no record, from beginning to end, of any supposed immediate witness of the Spirit, or inward immediate suggestion, etc. No supposed high illuminations and immediate discoveries," etc. "He told me that he never had what is called an *impulse*, or a strong impression on his imagination, in things of religion, in his life." "He detested enthusiasm in all its forms, and condemned whatever in opinion or experience seemed to verge towards Antinomianism. He regarded with abhorrence the experiences of those whose faith consists in believing that Christ died for them in particular, and whose assurance of their good estate arises from some immediate testimony, or suggestion, etc. He greatly abhorred everything like noise and ostentation in religion, and the spiritual pride of those laymen who set themselves up as public teachers, and decry a learned ministry."

Of himself during his last sickness, and when expecting every day to be his last, Brainerd says: "In a review of my life, though I could discover much corruption attending my best duties, . . . yet God was pleased to let me see that I had from time to time acted above the influence of mere self-love; that I had longed to please and glorify him as my highest happiness, etc. I had a present feeling of the same divine temper of mind. I felt pleased to think of the glory of God, and longed for heaven as a state wherein I might glorify God perfectly, rather than as a place of

neither the law of God, nor the example of Christ, is the rule of life; that the commission of sin, of flagrant sin, even murder itself, should not occasion doubt of our salvation, after it has been revealed to us that we are saved; that we are not bound to pray in our families, or in secret, unless the Spirit moves us; that a church, in admitting members, is to pay no regard to holiness of life or the want of it; and much more of the same sort; all turning on this pivot, that immediate revelation, and not the Holy Scriptures, should be the guide of our lives.¹ Accordingly, Mrs. Hutchinson relied much on direct impulses and revelations, made to her personally, for the direction of her conduct; and she felt that while acting under such guidance, she must be right, and everybody who opposed her must be wrong.

This lets us into the whole difficulty; this key unlocks the whole affair. As long as Mrs. Hutchinson claimed to have supernatural impulses and revelations, nobody could foresee what direction they might take, or what line of conduct they might prescribe for her followers. Suppose she had a revelation for her followers to take the sword; what then? This was the main source of apprehension to the government of

happiness for myself. This feeling of the love of God in my heart was sufficient to give me full satisfaction. . . . I did not now want any of the suggestions with which many are so pleased. No! my soul abhorred those delusions of Satan, which are thought to be the immediate witness of the Spirit . . . the suggestions made to the mind by Satan of certain facts not revealed in Scripture," etc.

And well he might abhor them. Mrs. Hutchinson pretended she had certain facts revealed to her which are not revealed in Scripture. Certainly this was adding to God's words; and God says that if anybody adds to his words, he will add to him the plagues that are in Scripture denounced against his enemies. Rev. xxii.

The revelations which Mrs. Hutchinson professed to enjoy, were substantially such as the Essenes, about the time of the apostles, and after them the Gnostics, in the primitive ages of Christianity, and in the Middle Ages some recluses in the Church of Rome pretended to have, and still later the English Enthusiasts in the time of Cromwell. All these pretended to extraordinary experience, and immediate revelations from heaven. In all these cases, it was Satan transforming himself into an angel of light. They were delusions of the devil, assuming the appearance of great spirituality, and leading many headlong to destruction. In all these cases the effect was the same as in the case of Mrs. Hutchinson, viz., to inspire these persons with an exalted sense of their own goodness, and to lead them to undervalue and despise others.

¹ All this was developed and clearly proved before the Synod of 1637, and fully admitted by Wheelwright. Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. E., I, 313 *et seq.*

Massachusetts, and the principal reason for her banishment. It is distinctly set forth in the order for her exclusion from the colony, as we shall see in the sequel.

The promulgation of Mrs. Hutchinson's views, in the manner and style which she chose to adopt, soon raised a prodigious ferment. Not content to propound these doctrines calmly for belief, she must utter the most unsparing denunciations against all who did not believe them, and especially against all the ministers who did not preach them. This of course was slander, and consequently criminal in the eye of the law. She and Mr. Wheelwright undertook to run a line of demarcation through the whole religious community, dividing it into two parties,—those who were under a covenant of works, and those who were under a covenant of grace. The former were the opponents, the latter the adherents, of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Her party was very strong in Boston, including many influential persons, some of them in the high places of power.¹ Her doctrine suited well the pride and self-sufficiency of the human heart. Governor Vane,² young, ardent, impulsive, and inexperienced, employed his great talents in promoting the spread of the new opinions. William Coddington, a most estimable man, who came with Winthrop in 1630, and who but for his connection with Mrs. Hutchinson would have been governor of Massachusetts, had a share in this unfortunate business.

It cannot be denied that Mrs. Hutchinson did offend against the rules of common decency, in thus setting up herself as a public teacher of religion, where there was no lack of very competent and excellent ministers; in holding stated weekly

¹ "Now by this time they had some of all sorts and quality in all places to defend and patronize them; some of the magistrates, some gentlemen, some scholars, and men of learning, some burgesses of our General Court, some of our captains and souldiers, some chief men in townes, and some men eminent for religion, parts, and wit. Wheresoever the opinions came in agitation, there wanted not patrons to plead for them. . . . In towne meetings, military trainings, and all other societies, yea, almost in every family, some were ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their owne eye." Welde, Preface to the "Short Story," etc.

The list of those who were disfranchised and disarmed in November, 1637, which will appear in the sequel, shows who were the abettors of the new doctrines.

² The new "opinions were raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane, too suddenly chosen governor." Shepard's Autobiography.

lectures for both sexes ; in entering upon and obstinately maintaining a heated warfare with the ablest men in the colony, and in assailing the reputation of learned and useful ministers. Her eminent talents, her unquestionable ability, affords no excuse. We are forcibly reminded of the fierce and stalwart women whom ancient fable represents as having come, in full panoply, to the help of beleaguered Troy :—

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet,
Aurea subnectens exsertæ cingula mammæ
Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.¹

Mrs. Hutchinson, by entering into this contest, unsexed herself, and invited the injuries which a bold and daring woman will always receive when stepping into the arena of angry public debate. It was easy for her to make disparaging criticisms, and to launch forth burning invectives against those who were not of her way of thinking, and she soon found that the same course was open to her opponents. It was not to be expected that a people who carried their reverence for their spiritual guides to an extent that would now be thought excessive, would submit in silence to the harsh censures, the severe denunciations, uttered against these men every week in Mrs. Hutchinson's lectures, pointing them out in unmistakable words, repeated at every social gathering and at every fireside. Censure, therefore, was met with censure ; crimination produced recrimination. There were faults on both sides ; but it is abundantly evident that the Hutchinson party were the first movers in this lamentable business, and must therefore bear the chief responsibility.

Measures were early taken to compose the warring elements. In October, 1636, and again in December, the ministers of the colony had an informal meeting in Boston, at a session of the General Court, to talk over the subject, and to see if harmony could not be restored.² All efforts in this direction proved unavailing. Mrs. Hutchinson and her party continued to reproach and denounce their opponents. Able, faithful, and earnest ministers, — such ministers as John Eliot of Roxbury,

¹ Virg. *Aeneid*, I, 490-493.

² Felt's *Eccles. Hist. of N. E.*, I, 261, 266. Palfrey's *N. E.*, I, 475, 476.

Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, and John Wilson of Boston, — men of the purest character, men who deserve, as they have received, the veneration of the New-England churches in every succeeding age; such men were stigmatized as unfit to be spiritual guides, as preaching no gospel at all, as preaching, in fact, a covenant of works, the very opposite of the gospel of Christ. They were, it was said, no better than priests of Baal, popish factors, scribes and pharisees, the opposers of Christ himself, with the very mark of Cain upon them.¹ The adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson, even half the congregation, when Wilson rose to speak, abruptly left the house. When they attended lectures out of town, and heard anything differing from her teachings, they publicly objected, and thus caused much disturbance.

Such a disparagement of ministers had a far deeper meaning, and inflicted far deeper wounds, than can now easily be conceived. To denounce, at the present day, a clergyman as a knave or a drunkard, would not be a greater offence than it was then to call a minister a legalist.²

The agitation continuing to increase, a fast was appointed by the General Court, to be held on the 19th of January, 1636-7.³ The reasons assigned for it were, the distresses endured by the Protestants in Germany, in consequence of the victories gained by the imperialists; the sufferings inflicted on faithful ministers in England who refused to submit to popish ceremonies and doctrines; the dangers with which the colony was threatened from the Indians;⁴ and the religious dissensions then flagrant in the colony.

¹ "Short Story," Preface, and p. 32. "Oh the sore censures against all sorts that opposed them, and the contempt they cast upon our godly magistrates, churches, ministers, and all that stood in their way!"

"Now the faithfull ministers of Christ must have dung cast on their faces, and be no better than Legall Preachers, Baal's priests, popish factors, Scribes, Pharisees and opposers of Christ himself.

"Now they must be pointed at, as it were with the finger, and reproached by name. Such a church officer is an ignorant man, and knows not Christ; such a one is under a covenant of works; such a pastor is a proud man, and would make a good persecutor," etc.

² Palfrey's Hist. of N. E., I, 490.

³ Winthrop put this fast on the 20th January, but the Colony Records make it the 19th.

⁴ The Pequots had assumed a hostile attitude the autumn previous.

The fast was intended for union and peace; but through human infirmity it proved to be the means of greatly increasing the alienation already existing. Mr. Wheelwright, having, perhaps, preached in the morning at Mount Wollaston, was present at the afternoon service in Boston. Mr. Cotton preached in the afternoon from Isaiah lviii: 4, "Behold, ye fast for strife and debate," etc., and showed that strife and debate, contention and provocation, did not accord with the idea of a fast, but that the proper design and effect was to produce harmony and reconciliation, and used many arguments in support of this view.

After Mr. Cotton had finished, the church desired Mr. Wheelwright "to exercise as a private brother, by way of prophecy."¹ No set, formal discourse was expected from him, but only a few brief, desultory, impromptu remarks, such as were often heard from unofficial members.

Mr. Wheelwright, however, had prepared for the occasion an elaborate, carefully-written discourse. He came forward, and delivered it. The text was in Matt. ix: 15, "And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast." Never was any proceeding more ill-advised, more ill-timed, or more mischievous in its consequences. After slumbering in manuscript two hundred and thirty years, during which period it had probably been seen by not more than two or three persons, this famous sermon has lately been given to the public.²

¹ "Short Story," p. 52. "To prophesy," in the phrase of those times, was to make a brief, informal, religious address, as a private brother, as Winthrop, Dudley, Nowell, and other leading laymen did, when the minister was absent, or by his leave, when he was present.

It appears that Mr. Wheelwright, on that Fast Day, was not invited to *preach*, and was not expected to preach, and had no right or permission to occupy the time with a formal discourse, but only to offer a few extempore remarks. Such is the statement of one who was present at the time. Was it discreet, was it fair, was it altogether upright, to preach at all, and especially to preach such a sermon at such a time? Can we wonder that the indignation of all who were not Mr. Wheelwright's personal friends was aroused?

² It is printed in full, *verbatim et literatim et punctuatim*, in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1866-1867, pp. 256-274. It is also printed, in like manner, in the (New York) Historical Magazine for April, 1867, and, in the orthography now current, in the (Boston) Panoplist for July and Au-

To the modern reader, the sermon may appear to be a very harmless affair. Language loses its meaning when taken out of its connection with the *time*, the *place*, and the *person*. Words, having a deep meaning of suggestion and insinuation in the manner and time of utterance, often, when put on paper, fail of their original effect, and seem perfectly innoxious. Tones, inflections, gestures, the aspects of the countenance, and the known sentiments of the speaker or hearers, frequently give a potent energy to what would otherwise be tame and insignificant. We must be on the spot, and hear what is said, and under what circumstances, to catch the full meaning of the utterance. In that day of anxiety and alarm, what construction other than that which was actually given, could have been put on such expressions as I shall now proceed to quote?

After showing "that the onely cause of the fasting of true beleueers is the absence of Christ," he tells his hearers how they ought "to cary & behaue themselues on that day of humiliacōn" [the Fast Day of January 19] and then proceeds: "The second vse of exhortation, & it serueth to exhorte vs al, in the feare of God, to haue a spetial caire, that we p^{te} not wth y^e Lorde Jesus Ch: if we p^{te} wth Ch we p^{te} wth our liues, for Ch is our life, saith Paule, Col. 3, 4, the Lorde Jesus Ch is not onely the author of our life, but is the uery seate of the life of God's childeren, & al there life is deriued from Ch. for he is y^e roote & he conuayeth life to y^e branshes, & thos y^t are y^e childeren of God, they liue by y^e faith of y^e sonne of God, Gal. 2. 20. they haue faith to lay houlde on the sonne of God, & y^e son of God conuayeth life to them: therefore if we p^{te} wth Ch. we p^{te} wth our liues, therefore it standeth vs all in hande to haue a caire Ch be not taken frō vs, if we belonge to the election of graise, Ch can not be holy taken away from vs, yet may be

gust, 1867. Of the publication last mentioned, my friend, Mr. Ebenezer Wheelwright, of Newburyport, a lineal descendant from Mr. John Wheelwright, was the editor.

Mr. Wheelwright delivered a copy of his sermon into the court, held March, 1636-7, as a true copy. This no doubt is the copy still existing in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. That the sermon was preached in Boston on the Fast Day, and not, as some suppose, at Mount Wollaston, we know from an indorsement on the sermon itself, as well as from the statement in the "Short Story."

taken away in some degree, therefore let vs haue a caire to keepe ye Lorde Jesus Ch.

"Ob: It may be heare demanded, what course shal we take to keepe the Lorde Jesus Ch.?

"A: The way we must take, if soe be we wil not haue y^e Lorde Jesus Ch taken from vs¹ is this we must al of vs ppaire for a spiritual combat, we must put on y^e whole armor of God, Eph. 6. 11, & must haue our loines girted, & be ready to fight: behould the bed y^t is Solamōs, there is threskore valient men about it, valient men of Israel, euery one hath his sworde in his hande, & being experte in warre, & hath his sworde girted on his thie, because of feare in y^e night, if we wil not fighte for y^e Lorde Jesus Ch. Ch. may come to be surprised. Solamon lyeth in his bed, & there is such men about the bed of Sollamon, & they watch ouer Sollamon, & wil not suffer Sollamō to be taken away: & who is this Sollamon, but y^e Lorde Jesus Ch: & what is y^e bed, but y^e church of true beleeuers, & who are those valient men of Israel, but al the children of God, they ought to shew themselues vallient, they should haue there swords readie, they must fight, and fighte wth spiritual weapens, for the weapens of our warfaire are not carnal, but spiritual &c. 2 Cor. 10. 4., therefore wheresoe euer we liue, if we would haue y^e Lorde Jesus Ch to be abundantly p^r sent wth vs, we must all of vs ppaire for battel, & come out ag^t y^e enymies of y^e Lorde, & if we doe not striue, those vnder a couenant of works wil p^r uaile. We must haue a spetial caire therefore to shewe our selues coragious, al y^e vallient men of Daud, & all y^e men of Israel, Barak, & Debora & Jael, all must out & fight for Ch: curse ye Meroz, because they came not ought to helpe y^e Lorde ag^t ye mighty, Judg: 5. 23 — therefore if we wil keepe y^e Lorde Jesus Ch. & his p^rsence, & power amongst us, we must fight."

Of course, this may all be understood in a spiritual sense, of such fighting as we read of in the Pilgrim's Progress and the Holy War. But unfortunately it is all capable of another construction, and the other construction was the natural and necessary one at the time. The resolute men of Boston, who

¹ All through the sermon it is represented and implied that his hearers were in great danger of having Christ taken from them.

had arms in their hands, and knew how to use them, could hardly suppose they were to be limited to the use of spiritual weapons in the combat for which they were exhorted to prepare. He tells his hearers, over and over again, "We must fight." Against what enemies? "Against the enemies of the Lord — those under a covenant of works, who are trying to take away Christ from us." And who were they but the party opposed to Mrs. Hutchinson and her doctrines? The whole history of the time shows that this, and nothing else, was his meaning.

The careful reader of the sermon cannot fail to see that there is in it a great lack of that mild, gentle, benevolent spirit which should ever characterize the utterances of a minister of the gospel. The expressions are many of them, to say the least, quite indiscreet, and there is a severity of style and manner approaching to violence.

It was claimed by the party adverse to Mrs. Hutchinson, that the whole design, or at least the whole tendency of the sermon, from beginning to end, was to stir up indignation and strife against all who did not receive the new opinions. The preacher spoke of some in that community who were "enemies of the Lord," and were "the greatest enemies of the State"! What did he mean by asserting so strongly, and so often, — repeating it twelve times over, by actual count, and all through the sermon, — that his hearers were in very great danger of having Christ taken away from them? Who were to inflict this mighty wrong, and how was it to be prevented? Over and over again he says, "We must fight!" All through the sermon he divides the community into two classes: some that were of his opinion, and were under a covenant of grace; and others who were under a covenant of works, and who might be known by this, that they "evidence their good estate by their sanctification." These latter he compares to Herod, who would have slain Christ as soon as he was born; to Pontius Pilate, who delivered Christ to be crucified, and tried to prevent his resurrection; and to the Philistines who stopped the wells in Isaac's days. He calls them Antichrists, and exhorts his hearers to deal with them as such, and to oppose them to the utmost, making a plain allusion to the story of Moses, who killed the Egyptian, leaving it to the hearers to draw their own inferences.

Did any of the hearers doubt as to the persons against whom this vehement philippic was aimed? Mr. Wheelwright himself, at his trial in the March following, acknowledged that he meant thus to designate his opponents in doctrine.¹ And who were they? John Wilson and John Winthrop of Boston; John Eliot and Thomas Dudley of Roxbury; Zechariah Symmes and Increase Nowell of Charlestown; Thomas Shepard of Cambridge; Peter Bulkley of Concord, and others of like character, — ministers and magistrates, the fathers of our civil and ecclesiastical polity, men who had suffered much in their native land for the sake of a pure conscience; men who had endured exile and hardship to plant the standard of the cross on these distant and inhospitable shores, and were striving with their utmost strength to uphold the cause and kingdom of the Lord Christ. Whether the preacher knew it or not, he grossly misrepresented the opinions and conduct of these excellent men. It is not necessary to question the goodness of his intentions; but it is evident that he and his adherents were impelled by a false, headlong zeal, which transported them beyond all just or reasonable bounds.

He himself, at the very time, seems to have had some expectation that the sermon would lead to civil disturbance, perhaps to bloodshed. "It will be objected," he says, "that this will cause a combustion in Church and Commonwealth. I must acknowledge it wil doe soe; but what then? Did not Ch come to sende fier vpon y^e earth? Luke, 12. 49, and what is it y^t it were alredy kindled? and it is y^e desier of y^e spirit of y^e saints y^t this fier were kindled." "If we wil ouercome, we must not loue our liues, but be wiling to be killed like sheepe. It is vnpossible to houlde forth y^e truth of God wth external peace and quietness. If we wil p^ruaile, we must be wiling to lay downe our liues, and shal ouercome by soe doeing. Samson slew more at his deathe than in his life: and soe we may p^ruaile more by our deathes than by our liues." At the same time, he exhorted his hearers not to suffer "y^e Lord Jesus Ch" to be taken away from them. The inference could not fail to be drawn, that they were to resist by all means in their power.

Translated into plain English, the sermon reads thus:

¹ Preface to the "Short Story." Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. E., I, 273.

"There are men among you, clothed with power, rulers in Church and State, who are endeavoring to deprive you of all that is dear to your hearts. You must take your measures accordingly. You must resist them to the utmost of your ability, by all the means in your power, reckless of consequences." Taking everything into the account, nothing else can be made of it. Certainly it was so regarded at the time, by both parties. The able editor of Winthrop's Journal, in a note, calls this "an inflammatory discourse."¹ The calm and candid author of the Ecclesiastical History of New England, says: "In the circumstances of the time, it was casting oil on the flame." "He must have perceived that his positions would be generally regarded as presumptuous, and treated as a libel on the character of the colonists." "He must have seen that it was increasing the jeopardy of having the whole country fall into the hands of the Lords Commissioners, with Laud at their head."² The judicious, impartial, accurate Palfrey describes the sermon as having "a character which is common with skilful agitators. Along with disclaimers of the purpose to incite to physical violence, it abounds in language suitable to bring about that result."³ We cannot doubt that the preacher foresaw the possibility of civil disorder and bloodshed, and the consequent loss of the charter, as the natural result of his efforts on that day. Any man, possessing common-sense, must have foreseen it.

Grant that he was sincere in his opinions, and upright in his motives, he knew he was dealing with combustible materials, and careless in the use of them. It is perfectly clear that on that occasion he committed a grave political offence; an offence against the peace and safety of the Commonwealth, which the General Court, as the constituted guardians of the public welfare, could not overlook. The affair had now passed out of the domain of religious discussion into the department of civil administration. It had now assumed a thoroughly political character. No matter how the dispute originated, it was now endangering the very existence of the colony.

¹ Savage's Winthrop, I, 215.

² Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. E., I, 270.

³ Palfrey's New England, I, 479.

Winchester, Mass.

JOHN A. VINTON.

[To be continued.]

DOES CHRIST SAVE, AND HOW?

WHAT is salvation? What is the relation of the provisions for it, and the processes of it, to the real and full attainment of it? These topics surely are not new, but as surely they are topics which, from time to time, we need to consider afresh. Christian teachers and disciples are necessarily occupied for the most part with the details of a religious life, as circumstances seem to prescribe them, or as usage makes them familiar. Accordingly we may easily lose sight of the design and meaning of details, of the bearing they have on the great end to be attained. We use the word salvation so often in respect to single and special aspects of the great fact it signifies, that we are in constant danger of confounding the fact itself with subordinate, and it may be unimportant, aspects of it. Thus comes, or may come, one-sidedness, narrowness of mind, bigotry. The redemption of Jesus Christ, as we think of it and represent it, loses both in reality and in comprehensiveness, is robbed of divine grandeur and divine power.

The word salvation implies, of course, previous existence of danger, processes of destruction already begun, a final ruin threatening and impending. It is a not infrequent assumption, therefore, that the experience of it must be preceded by some, adequate apprehension of danger, some more or less vivid sense of impending ruin. The assumption seems not to be altogether warranted. The Scriptures do not affirm the indispensable necessity of an adequate apprehension of danger to begin with, nor of any apprehension at all; reason does not affirm it. The danger may be apprehended or may not. There are children in whom the process of salvation seems clearly to have begun who are not yet mature enough to have any genuine and personal apprehension of danger. There are adults in whose experience the impelling motives to a Christian life were the beauty and worthiness of it, the winsomeness of God's grace, the constraining power of his love. The mode of many a lesser salvation is instructive. By parental sagacity and providence, many a child has been saved from ruin of health, and possibly ruin of character, without knowledge of its own, from

first to last, that either were endangered. By the watchful care and persuasive wisdom of others, many a youth has been saved from making wreck of position, prospects, character, without vivid sense of danger to either. He was toying with temptation, but knew not how fatal it was ; was indulging evil passion, without sense of the terrible power which was becoming roused. In his own apprehension he was merely indulging in self-gratification for the time, negligent of the highest capacity and noblest opportunities. He had no sense of danger, and it may be that no attempt was made to awaken such a sense. He was merely pointed to a better way ; gentle, and in part indirect, efforts were made to secure his entrance upon it. He allowed himself to be persuaded, inspired, won. He was saved, none the less really, because from beginning to end he had no adequate sense of peril. In after years, when manhood has grown and ripened, he looks back upon that crisis with fuller understanding ; sees that it was a crisis ; shudders, perhaps, to think how narrow was his escape. Even so also in the great salvation, sense of danger may be most distinct after escape has been made.

Sense of danger is far less needful than some degree of an intelligent sense of spiritual need. The danger from which Christ came to rescue is not primarily danger of misery here or hereafter ; the salvation is not merely or chiefly a securing of happiness. It is often so represented ; sometimes inadvertently, sometimes more deliberately. It could not be more seriously misrepresented. A greater mischief can scarcely be done than by turning attention to the gratifications of susceptibility, instead of fixing it upon the dignities of highest, holiest worthiness. Doubtless misery is involved on the one hand, blessedness on the other ; but the chief danger which threatens is the danger of making wreck of divinest worthiness, of completely losing the image of God, of ruining immortal manhood and womanhood. It is the danger of a confirmed sinfulness, and of the chaos and ruin which that most surely involves. The highest goodness is not spontaneous in the world ; the predominant moral currents of human life run in other directions. Goodness increases only by struggles ; selfishness prevails and fills the world with conflicts ; misdoing abounds and brings manifold

curses ; practical godlessness is common ; practical likeness to God, and daily fellowship with him, uncommon. These are the facts : moral condition tends to the worse, to a ruin which, according to God's word, is at length hopeless ; we need to be *saved* from it. The nature of salvation may be stated in very various forms of words, all substantially true, but differing because of the different aspects which are presented. Salvation is deliverance from the guilt, power, pollution, and curse of sin. It is restoration to holiness. It is the restoring and perfecting of humanity. It is the purifying and quickening, the true renewal, of human nature and life. It is the restoration of a divine order among human powers and faculties, the deliverance of the will from bondage to evil passions. It is the restoration in man of the divine likeness and blessedness. It is restoration to union with God and fellowship with him. In principle these restorations are not dissimilar, as matter of fact any one of them includes all the rest, — at least in germ.

No great salvation is ever wholly self-attained. Whoever needs to be saved needs help from others. Whoever needs to be saved from corruptions of personal being needs divine help, since no man can get above or behind himself to transform himself. By constitution, however, our moral being is free being ; our character is the moral temper of our freedom wrought into all our life by our own acts. Just as truly, therefore, as salvation of the moral nature requires divine help, does salvation of character require our own consent to God, our active, continuous, strenuous endeavor in holiness. The two things are never really separated, never can be. A real salvation implies a life-giving, guiding, divine agency, a recipient, responding human agency, working in some measure together from the first. As the apostle phrased it, we must work out our own salvation, for God works in to will and to do. Of course the divine agency logically precedes the human ; but it has been well said that an agency of God on the will, or in it, implies a simultaneous activity of the will itself. Since God provided salvation, His help is never lacking ; it has to some extent already been received by every one in whom there are upward yearnings.

We come thus to the provisions, means, processes of salva-

tion ; correct understanding of them will greatly help to true and adequate understanding of the salvation itself. The first provision is general, and yet most important and indispensable. It is made in the construction of the world, beforehand, with reference to a possible need and the full supply of it ; in such a creation of man in the divine likeness, that capacity of renewal could not be lost at once and forever ; in the constitutional hunger of the soul for God ; in the ordaining of law, governing of the general course of events, and presiding over all details in such manner as to facilitate and promote salvation. But provisions of creation and providence do not secure salvation, — they only prepare for it. The second general class of provisions includes all special preparations for the coming of Christ, his advent and work. Expressly, and in some sense alone, he is Saviour ; in his very coming, manifestation of divine grace, of the eternal life which was with the Father, and which gives life to the world. There are two questions respecting Jesus Christ of greatest practical importance. One of them is, As matter of fact *does* he save ? Affirmative answer to that is here assumed. The other, which also has here a wholly practical meaning, is, How does he save ? There have been many answers : none, perhaps, without its element of truth, each sufficient to satisfy the most urgent need of some soul in some hour of experience ; not a few, surely, very imperfect if taken as comprehensive answers.

One frequent answer has been, He saves by the atonement he made. The Scriptures unquestionably teach that Christ was propitiation ; that God might be just, and the justifier of him who believes. Just as surely is it evident to human understanding that under a government absolutely perfect, there can be no system of pardons by mere prerogative. That would take from law its sacredness of obligation ; would make the sanctions of law a farce, a nullity ; would bring the very majesty of God as sovereign into disregard and contempt. By coming into this world, assuming our nature, putting himself under the law, taking upon himself the substance of its curse, our Lord did make the exercise of pardoning and redeeming grace consistent with the maintenance of righteousness. That was propitiation ; by which is meant, not at all the awaken-

ing of love and mercy in God, for love is eternal in him, and redeeming love is but one modification or aspect of Divine love, a species under the genus. As Dr. Hodge has most recently defined it, — propitiation is the provision, because of which there may be a *righteous exercise* of love and mercy in the salvation of the sinful. Thus, also, there is a sense in which our guilt was taken away, by which is not at all meant our criminality in the past. That never can be taken away; that is an accomplished fact, henceforth unalterable. Again to quote Dr. Hodge: by guilt is here meant our obligation to satisfy justice because of criminality in the past. Into discussion of the precise mode in which these results are made possible, it is not needful here to enter. Our present concern is with the relation of the atonement to salvation, and for that we need only recognize it as propitiation, without considering the vexed questions respecting mode of propitiation.

Just here it is needful to remark that, even as hitherto defined, the word salvation has two very different senses. Through lack of discrimination there has sometimes been much obscurity and confusion of thought, and no little vehemence of opposition between disputants, who misunderstood one another rather than differed from one another. In some uses, "salvation" is a name for certain general, divine provisions, of which the atonement is one. There are some persons to whom the word carries this as its predominant meaning in all uses. But the word is also a name for the actual and complete renewal of men into the divine likeness. It is very unfortunate that the usage of words important in religion has been so loose and vague. We need some single word which shall always be a name for the whole work of bringing man back to God, including divine provisions and human transformations. If it could be agreed upon and always used in this comprehensive sense, salvation would perhaps be the fittest word. Then we need a stricter use of two other words, — one to signify divine provisions and agencies, the other to signify actual processes and results in human character and life. Though not wholly suitable, perhaps redemption and renewal might be used with such strictness of meaning. As matters now are, words are used vaguely and with widely different applications. "Salvation" is used of divine

provisions irrespective of their actual efficacy, and used just as freely with exclusive reference to transformations really taking place in human character and life. The one is a merely potential salvation, the other an actual. The actual cannot be without the potential ; but surely, as regards multitudes of men, the potential may be without the actual. In its further use in this article the word salvation will be employed to signify a something actual, — spiritual transformations in men which really take place.

Returning to the atonement, it remains to be said that, *by itself alone*, that accomplishes no salvation, and furnishes no ground of assurance. It makes no man one whit better, delivers no one from his sins, saves no one. Or else, if we believe in a general atonement, it saves all men. In fact, however, it is but a provision needful to be made, preparatory to salvation. It is the removal of certain pre-existent obstacles, not the practical imparting of life. There seem to be some who very much rely upon the atonement, as if that were of itself a large part of salvation. There are some of our hymns which refer to it as if it alone were everything, as if in it everything had been done once for all. Quite possibly the emphasis of language is owing to inadvertence merely ; the writers were thinking of a great and indispensable divine provision, and for the time lost sight of everything else. But certainly the hymns do very great harm to some readers and singers. Men and women are encouraged to do what they are already mischievously inclined to do, namely, to rely for salvation wholly upon a something long past, completed before they were born. They are encouraged to rely on what they call exercise of faith in the atonement, which in them is practically a dead faith, a name, a nullity, approving itself by no works, no transformation. It is not *saving* faith, and may have no particle of saving quality in it. To those who thus rely upon it, it may give assurance, but an assurance quite unwarranted by the Scriptures.

Christ did more than make atonement or propitiation. He wrought works which proved a divine commission and revealed a divine love, and then he called men to follow him, receive his teachings, obey his requirements, allow themselves to be moved, inspired, transformed by his influence and the power

of his spirit in them. Through self-surrender in each of these modes, some working power of an actual salvation was really received. Men did grow better, did become transformed; some actual restoration of the divine likeness did take place in them. The self-surrender was faith; it was what he meant when he spoke of believing on him. Repeatedly he told men that in him was life; told his disciples that they could not get life from him once for all, but must receive it little by little continually. They must abide in him as the branch abides in the vine; must uninterruptedly yield soul and life to his inspiration and control. Without this they could have no eternal life, no salvation. He promised that, after his departure from visible form, he would come again spiritually; the Holy Spirit would come with his power to fill his place. The Spirit they must receive as before they had received him. The Spirit should be to them inwardly what he had been hitherto, and even more. Apparently an influence which they could receive or reject; but so far as they should receive it, much more than an influence, a divine power inwardly transforming, a divine friend ever present. They were still to continue their obedience to all his own word; continue and make more perfect their imitation of his example; by prayer continually to seek the Father in Christ's name; and continually, as they should need, the Spirit would help them in every thought, feeling, word, and work. Thus their salvation would continually go on; enduring thus to the end, salvation should at length become complete.

After Christ's departure the Spirit did come, with marvellous manifestations, displaying a divine power, and fulfilling the words of Christ. He had always been in the world, indeed; because of his presence and power, men had been saved before the incarnation as truly as afterwards. But only through the work of Christ was preparation made for the full *manifestation* of the Spirit, the full revelation of a divine indwelling and in-working in all who would receive it. The work of the Spirit consists in the practical, inward *application* of the work of Christ. In that personal application is found the working power of a practical salvation. We must now believe in Christ in the same sense as of old, receive his teachings, obey his

commands, imitate his example, receive the Spirit in his name inwardly to enlighten, inspire, renew. Life, inward and outward, is to be heartily, fully surrendered to God, in Christ, through the Spirit. So that the entire humanity may receive divine quickening, divine fashioning; receive it steadily, continually. Thus comes salvation, and thus only. There is no salvation in masses; it is real for any individual only as the individual receives it by responsively working it through and working it out. There is no salvation by general provisions, but only by the personal application of them. The offer of salvation is truly made to all, but by itself the offer avails nothing; it must be practically accepted. The mere throwing of a rope to a drowning man, no matter how lovingly and helpfully, does not save him. He must actually grasp it and cling to it. The call of God's grace sounds out, and sounds in each soul; there is no more saving power in that call by itself than in the call to a drowning man to grasp the rope. Grace is truly imparted to each soul, works in each to awaken, to give better apprehension of the law of life, to excite some hunger for God. We call it common grace; it is common, in its nature it is saving grace too, but becomes effectual unto salvation only in those who yield the whole soul and life to it.

What is called conversion is not of itself salvation, and does not always involve even the beginnings of salvation. Alas, how many cases of what is *called* conversion might better be called by any other name, being little more than brief fits of religious sentimentalism, ultimately leaving men farther from God than ever. The world is growing somewhat sceptical respecting what is thus called conversion, because the name has been indiscriminately applied to things very different, and to some things which are contemptible. The scepticism will become still greater, unless there come a better wisdom in religious instrumentalities, and greater care in religious judgments. Conversion proves itself real by its fruits. Real conversion implies true faith and actual regeneration, either of which involves the other. Of faith something has already been said; it remains only to say with great distinctness, that regeneration or the new birth is not salvation. It has often been identified with salvation; religious degeneration and

great practical mischiefs have been the result. It is only the beginning of salvation. The Scriptures nowhere represent it as more than the beginning; they distinctly, constantly speak of salvation as including very much in addition. The intentionally used figure of birth is itself very instructive. Full, complete, matured manhood is not attained when an infant is born into the world, frail and helpless. The years, a whole lifetime, even an immortality of development lie between birth and completed manhood. In order to an earthly completeness the earthly years must be filled with noble endeavors, truly manly in their aim and the aspiration which prompts to them, filled with struggle, conflict, achievement little by little, with a complete manhood attained only at length, as result of them all. Great stress is sometimes put upon the time, place, manner of the new birth. These matter little, or matter not at all, if one is really born into the kingdom who grows on unto the stature of the perfect in Christ Jesus. The *fact* is of chief importance, and of the fact of birth — the new birth or any other — the present existence of real life is sufficient proof. It matters not whether any but God has knowledge respecting the time when life began, or the manner of its beginning.

As regards the relation of the new birth to salvation, it will, of course, be said that the Scriptures teach the perseverance of the saints. The real meaning of that word perseverance is, however, often wholly overlooked. True saints will *persevere*, *i. e.* will continue to exercise faith, will go on in obedience, will hold themselves perpetually open to divine inworkings, will continue to work out the grace given them to its fullest results. Thus shall they also at length work out their salvation.

It will also be said that He who hath begun a good work in them will carry it on. Very true; but the beginning of a thing is not the whole of it. The only evidence that a good work has been begun, in the sense of the apostle, is the evidence that in spirit and life there is continual union with Jesus Christ, evidence which can be given only in facts. In practical effect it makes infinite difference whether we say, A progressing salvation gives evidence of union with Christ, and therefore we believe there has been regeneration; or say, We believe there has been regeneration, and therefore salvation will go on to

completion. We have too often used the latter form of words, too seldom the former. Apart from continual and increasing fruits we have no evidence of life, and therefore no evidence of the reality of birth. We have, however, attempted to determine the spiritual processes by which regeneration is effected, attempted to make a theory or philosophy of the new birth as process. And then we have, most foolishly, made these supposed processes, or our theory of them, the tests by which we judge spiritual condition. As matter of fact, chief stress has been laid upon emotions rather than affections, upon exercises and usages which may easily become conventional. Whereas the Master said, By their fruits ye shall know them. When we have examined fruits, our tests have too often been taken from one side of life merely, the side technically called religious. Whereas, in true discipleship, everything becomes religious; the spirit of the Master penetrates everywhere, works in all the life, and produces the likeness of God in it all. Only thus is any man saved. Even when real, the new birth is but the beginning of salvation. God knows the real, we know only the apparent. As matter of fact, we have often, if not commonly, confounded real and apparent. We have confidently affirmed of the appearance what could only be true of the reality; confidently and wellnigh constantly affirmed of the new birth what is true only of salvation. Every year in some of our churches there are seasons of refreshing and ingathering; and every year at the close of some of these seasons it is said that a certain number of souls have been saved. No words could be more untrue; none, surely, more likely to be harmful. In fact, there have been a certain number of apparent conversions. Not one soul has yet been saved, though it may be hoped that the saving process has been begun in all. In consequence of very lamentable abuse of language, every year, men, women, and children, who have had certain religious experiences, consider their good estate secured. Nothing remains for them but to profess discipleship and join the church. Some who thus come into it come not as new members of a working religious association, that by their fellowship they may be quickened in work, and may work to better advantage; but, as ere-long becomes apparent, they come that they may lie down on

church cushions, and in passivity be borne, as by invisible powers, to a Mohammedan paradise. For the heaven of their thought is in its essential characteristics the very same with the paradise of the Mohammedans. The facts are notorious ; instances of them can be found in almost all our churches. They are results of a confounding of apparent regeneration with real and full salvation. So prevalent has become the tendency to make such confusion, that many are affected by it of whom highest hopes are rightfully entertained. Soon after reception to church membership, they begin somewhat to slacken from their activity, relax from their earnestness, cease somewhat from the sensitive honor of their Christian faithfulness.

To give the sum of the matter, men are saved through vital union with Christ. Salvation begins when they begin to have His life in them, to be themselves animated by it predominantly, continually, increasingly. Because they are in Him his atoning work avails for them, as regards the past, and also as regards present and future, until salvation has become complete. The first completeness is reached when the spirit, having overcome hitherto, and in Christ still, triumphs over the last earthly enemy, which is death. The final completeness is reached with the consummation of all things at the resurrection. So long as men remain here, their salvation is not yet complete. It is to be worked out, to go on towards completeness by continual work. It is God that worketh within : receiving the inworking powers of a divine life, we are ourselves responsively to work out the practical fact. When those powers have been worked into and worked through the whole soul and the whole life, and thus worked out to the end, then transformation will be complete ; then we shall be saved, not before.

WILLIAM W. ADAMS.

Fall River, Mass.

CONGREGATIONAL NECROLOGY.

Rev. ROWLAND HUSSEY ALLEN was born in Norton, Mass., August 13, 1840, and died at Neponset, Boston, Mass., September 12, 1872. His parents were Rev. Cyrus Williams and Mary (Folger) Allen. At the age of six years, while playing with some schoolmates, he overheard one of them using profane language, and at once said to him, Don't you know it says in the Bible, "Swear not at all"? It seemed, as one said of him at that time, that he was a preacher then. At the age of fifteen he entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., and graduated after a term of two years study. During this period he gave his heart to Christ, and formed the resolution to preach the gospel. He soon after united with the church in Hubbardston, Mass., of which his father was then pastor. He never regretted his early choice, but rejoiced that he was thought worthy to preach Christ and Him crucified. Nay, he was willing to suffer, if need be, for one who had done so much for him.

He entered Amherst College at the age of seventeen. His rank in scholarship was high, and he received at graduation the appointment of "first class oration." The Hardy prize for improvement in extemporaneous speaking was also awarded him; also, a prize in mathematics. At one time, being rather straitened in his pecuniary affairs, he wrote his friends that he felt he could even be contented with less, if he might be permitted to work for the Master. On leaving college, he entered the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., and completed his education at the age of twenty-four.

He was ordained and installed as pastor of the Congregational church in Canton, Mass., November 1st, 1865, and dismissed at his own request April 1st, 1867. He subsequently supplied for several months the pulpit of the Crombie Street Church, Salem, during the absence of the pastor-elect in Europe, and also the church in Peabody. He was installed pastor of the Trinity Congregational Church, Neponset, February 8th, 1870, where he remained to the time of his death. During his ministry here several were added to the church "of such" (we trust) "as shall be saved."

Mr. Allen had a delicate physical organization, which was over-matched by his mental energy. As a preacher, he had clear views of truth, was a polished writer, and especially excelled in extemporaneous discourse.

Mr. Allen was remarkably genial and courteous; constant and true

in all the domestic and social virtues ; ever ready to extend a helping hand to those less favored than himself. His beaming smile betokened the cheerfulness and hope which always characterized him.

Among the products of his pen was the beautiful book, entitled, "New England Tragedies in Prose," which, as has been said, should be placed beside Longfellow's Poem on the same subject. He contributed largely to the newspaper press, was the Boston correspondent of the "Advance," and his monthly letters were always hailed by his many friends with delight. His humorous lecture, "Popular Proverbs," was a charming production.

On the 15th of April, 1866, he married Miss Willianna Brooks, of Chelsea, Mass. She and an only child survive him. A short time before his death he was offered the responsible position of Secretary of the American Tract Society, New England Branch. He accepted this office and was about to enter upon its duties when "God called him."

Thus ended with Christian triumph and cheerfulness this useful and beautiful life on earth. To our poor vision it seems a mystery ; but "what we know not now we shall know hereafter." The bud of promise which bloomed so fragrantly on earth, has only been transplanted that it may yield a richer perfume in the paradise of God.

W. B. A.

Rev. JOHN MARVIN CHAPIN was born in Springfield, Mass., May 15, 1844, and died at the same place October 25th, 1872. His parents were Marvin and Rebecca (Stowe) Chapin. Devoted to God in infancy under the seal of baptism, his early religious impressions were vivid and strong. The desire to be a minister was manifested at this period, and was strongly shaped and printed on his heart, by the prayers and counsels of his sainted grandfather, Deacon John Stowe, late of Westfield, Mass. At the age of ten, he went to the family school of Rev. Sandford Lawton, of Longmeadow, Mass., and continued with him three years. Then for two years he was under the care of Mr. Hall, of Ellington, Conn. Here he was led to find the Saviour. It was in connection with the day of prayer for colleges. Mr. Hall was deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of his students, and wrote to those parents whom he knew to be Christians, asking special supplication at the mercy-seat on that day. The day was one ever to be remembered by young Chapin, and by many souls whom God has touched and led to Christ through his young servant. He made confession of his Lord

in the First Church of Christ, in Springfield, May, 1858, in his fifteenth year. The desire to preach the gospel now burned within stronger than ever. Accordingly, he commenced fitting for Yale College, first at Westfield Academy, then at Williston Seminary, and for the last two years of preparation, under the excellent tuition of the late Rev. Henry Martyn Colton, of Middletown, Conn. While here, in the winter of 1863, he very narrowly escaped death by drowning. He was skating with companions upon a very deep pond, and blinded by the driving wind and snow, fell suddenly into an air-hole, covered only with the thinnest ice. By the heroic exertions of a young man, who saw his extreme peril, while sinking the last time he was rescued and resuscitated. This made a marked impression on his mind. He felt that life was really given back to him from the grave, and a more settled devotedness to the Master rested upon his heart. In 1864, he entered Yale College, and passing through the course with diligent application, and the honorable esteem of instructors and classmates, graduated in the class of 1868. The following winter he engaged for a short time in business, as clerk in an insurance office in his native city, but soon was sought by the Home Evangelization Committee of Hampden County to do service for the church in North Blandford. So acceptable was he in public and private ministrations, that the people urged him to remain with them, and not pursue his plan of study in theology. But his own judgment coincided with that of friends, who thought a thorough seminary course an indispensable training for a man who hopes to accomplish much good as a pastor in New England. He entered the Theological Institute of Connecticut in the fall of 1869, and graduated June 12, 1872. His industry and holy life during this course of study were a great comfort to his teachers, and were attended with marked influence for good upon his associates. He was licensed to preach by Hampden East Association in the winter of 1871, and was heard with acceptance in many places. After graduation, he received a call to the pastorate of the old parish church of West Springfield.

While a most difficult field, in some respects, for a young man to occupy, especially as following in a line of most eminent ministers, famed for pulpit and pastoral gifts, yet Mr. Chapin felt called of God to attempt, in this ancient church, the work he so desired to follow. He therefore, with great self-distrust, accepted the call, and was ordained and installed pastor of the church June 19, 1872. In four months his ministry ended. His work on earth was done. His young life opened full of promise, exhibiting rare qualities and gifts

as a pastor among all classes of the people. His memory is very precious among his people. The infant class and the saints of four-score years, to whom alike he had become closely endeared, mingled their tears, in heartfelt grief, at parting with their loved friend and pastor, as he was borne from the shadow of his first pulpit to sleep with kindred dust in the beautiful cemetery at Springfield. His works do follow him. The precious seed sown in his brief ministry on earth is evermore bearing fruit unto eternal life.

H. M. P.

Mrs. SARAH BUDD PARSONS, widow of the late Rev. Isaac Parsons, of East Haddam, Ct., died at Charlton, Mass., January 14, 1873, at the house of her son-in-law, Rev. Warren C. Fiske, in the 83d year of her age.

She was born in Rye, Westchester County, N. Y., May 14, 1790, the second daughter of Underhill and Mary (Halsted) Lyon. Her father died when she was five years old, leaving to her mother the care of four little daughters. The mother being a lady of much energy and refinement, gave her personal attention largely to the instruction of her children. Feeling the need of greater advantages for their education, she removed with them to New Haven, Ct., in 1811. The younger daughters attended Mr. Herrick's school; but Sarah, feeling herself too old (as she afterwards said her *pride* told her she was) to attend school, availed herself eagerly of other facilities for adding to her book knowledge, and obtained a very creditable proficiency in Latin and other studies pursued by the young ladies of that day. At this time she was very fond of fashionable amusements, and a stranger to the love of God. But these vain delights lost all their charms for her when she found the pearl of great price.

In 1815, Dr. Nettleton was invited to visit Mr. Herrick's school. Most of the young ladies in it became very seriously impressed, and the work of grace extended into the churches. At this time, Miss Lyon became a hopeful subject of grace, and soon after united with the First Congregational church, under the care of Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor.

She married the Rev. Isaac Parsons, of East Haddam, January 21, 1819. They had six children: Mary, wife of Dr. S. E. Swift, of Colchester — not now living; Harriet, wife of Rev. W. C. Fiske, of Charlton, Mass.; Henry M., colleague pastor of the Union Congregational Church, Boston, Mass.; and Elizabeth I., wife of Zechariah Cone, Esq., of East Haddam. The other two died in infancy.

Mrs. Parsons removed her connection to the church of which her husband was pastor early in the year 1820, and remained a most consistent and worthy member of it until her death. She was a high-toned Christian, intelligent, and settled in her views of truth and duty. Having renounced the beggarly elements of the world, she had no desire to come again into bondage. One was her Master, even Christ, and it was her wish and purpose to have every thought brought into captivity to Him.

She was a model minister's wife. To fervent piety, she added a quiet dignity, an easy affability, an habitual cheerfulness, untiring industry, and wise economy. "The heart of her husband safely trusted in her." "She did him good, and not evil, all the days of his life." Not only at home, but also in the parish, she was a helpmeet for him. The testimony is one and the same from all who knew her in the days of her activity, and the sphere of her life work, namely, that she was a woman of rare gifts and graces, of rare discretion and usefulness.

As a mother, she was wise in counsel and faithful in training, while she was tender in affection and genial in sympathy. "Her children arise up and call her blessed."

The end of life came to her suddenly, but death was neither unlooked for nor unwelcome. She had been enfeebled by partial paralysis for two or three years, but the "inward man was renewed day by day." In a true Christian life of almost sixty years, the joy of the Lord had been her strength, and we cannot doubt that in death were underneath her the everlasting arms.

Her funeral was attended by a large assembly of friends at the First Congregational Church in East Haddam, Jan. 17. The pastor, Rev. Salmon McCall, selected as a text, having fit illustration in her life, Luke ii: 37, 38. "And she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayers night and day. And she coming in that instant, gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spoke of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem."

Rev. Samuel Willard, of Colchester, assisted in the services. Her remains were reverently laid by the side of her honored husband, in the assured hope of a joyful and glorious resurrection.

S. MCC.

REV. JOHN EVANS BRAY died at Newburyport, Mass., April 30, 1873, aged eighty-five years five months and two days. His father, Rev. Thomas Wells Bray, was pastor of the church in North Guilford,

Conn., from Dec. 31, 1766, to April 23, 1808 ; and during his long and successful ministry aided many young men in their studies preparatory to entering college, among whom was Lyman Beecher.

The subject of this sketch was born at North Guilford, Nov. 28, 1787. His mother's maiden name was Sarah Robinson. He was the sixth son, and ninth born, of eleven children. He lived at home till 1806, when he went to reside with a brother in Portland, Me., and the next year entered the academy at Fryeburg, to complete his preparation for college. The death of his father, in 1808, recalled him to his native place, and compelled him to abandon the hope of obtaining a collegiate education. Until 1816, he engaged in various kinds of business, teaching school a part of the time. His desire to enter the Christian ministry now revived, and became so strong that he relinquished other pursuits, and began the study of theology, under the direction of clergymen then settled over the churches in Portland. In the fall of 1818, he was licensed to preach the gospel by the Cumberland Association, and for several months following was employed as a missionary in Newfield and vicinity. The painful and protracted illness of a brother recalled him to his native State, and made such demands upon his time as to prevent him from seeking a settlement. Meanwhile he supplied vacant pulpits, and in the winter of 1821 taught a select school in North Guilford. In 1823, he engaged in missionary labor in Northern Vermont, and the next year received a call to settle over a church in St. Johnsbury, which he accepted ; but owing to unsettled difficulties in the church, he finally declined to be ordained. May 16, 1827, he was ordained and settled over the church in Columbia (now Prospect), Conn., where he had already preached two years as stated supply. After a successful pastorate of five and a half years, he was dismissed, Aug. 19, 1832, at his own request ; and two years afterwards received a call from the same church to become again its pastor, which he declined. From 1832 to 1834 he preached at Westfield, a village within the limits of New Haven, and through his instrumentality a church was there organized. From 1834 to 1842, he was acting pastor of the church in Humphreysville (now Seymour), where his labors were greatly blessed. But over-exertion in times of special religious interest impaired his health to such a degree that he was compelled to withdraw from the active duties of the ministry.

Removing to Clinton he purchased a small farm, in the care and cultivation of which he hoped to regain his health. This hope was partially realized, but he was never able to resume the stated duties

of his loved profession. In 1855, he removed to Brooklyn, N. Y., where he resided until 1867, when he became a resident of Newburyport, Mass., where, with the exception of two years at Elizabeth, N. J., his remaining days were spent in the family of his only surviving son, and where, after a brief illness, he quietly fell asleep in Jesus.

Mr. Bray was a man of active mind and tender heart; resolute in purpose, catholic in spirit, and eminently genial and social. He loved the work of the ministry; he loved to preach; he loved to labor in revivals; he loved the cause of missions; and, to the last, felt a lively interest in everything pertaining to the kingdom of Christ. The evening of his life was marked with Christian serenity and cheerfulness. Though impaired vision had passed into total blindness, he retained a good degree of physical vigor and mental sprightliness until prostrated by his final sickness. A few days of suffering, and he was not, for God took him.

In January, 1821, Mr. Bray was married to Miss Esther Parmele, of Clinton, Conn., who died Sept. 20, 1866. Their children were John Henry, born June 20, 1824, died Jan. 1, 1836; Edward Parmele, born Oct. 17, 1829.

D. T. F.

LITERARY REVIEW.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

THE Catholic Publication Society has issued two books¹ which may be read with profit by those who would understand the present position and claims of the papacy, as presented by its ablest adherents and advocates. Archbishop Manning, of England, is a man whose abilities are not to be trifled with, and we must believe that his sincerity is not to be doubted, and therefore whatever he utters, by mouth or pen, is to be examined with care and weighed with candor. In the second volume of "Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects," just published, he discusses topics of especial interest to his own adopted church, to the world at large, and Italy in particular. We cannot even outline his themes, for his whole volume is a model of compact writing, and his style is singularly clear and forcible. His chief object is to present the condition of Rome and Italy to-day from a Roman Catholic point of view, to vindicate the Pope, and to hold up to execration those who now compose the Italian government. He traverses the whole subject in its various and far-reaching ramifications, and finds that all those upheavings of mind and soul, all those manifestations of liberty, civil and religious, that have for a generation astonished and gratified the Protestant and freedom-loving nations, — all evidences of the decay and ultimate downfall of papal rule, at least in its temporal features, — are so many signs of fearful spiritual degeneracy, of a departure from the infallible teachings of the church, of a wide-spread and increasing infidelity that is enveloping the thinking, scientific, and scholastic world in a shroud of darkness. We will not stop to enlarge upon our wonder that Mr. Manning, with his broad culture and constant contact with the world, can be so wedded to the most egregious assumptions of the Pope and the Romish church; it is one of the singular phenomena of the times, a rebound from utter scepticism to unquestioning belief. Thus, he affirms, in regard to the temporal power of the Pope, in its political aspect, (1) that it is a power ordained of God; (2) that it stands at least upon the same basis as all other rightful authority; (3) that it is sacred by every right common to other powers, and by rights and sanctions which transcend those of all other authorities on earth; (4) that it therefore cannot be resisted, nor can any one excite resistance against it, without sin against not only political justice, but against the ordinance of God. From these positions, carefully presented and defended, he deduces that the

¹ Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects. By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. Vol. II. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 12mo. pp. 311. \$2.00.

My Clerical Friends and their Relations to Modern Thoughts. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 12mo. pp. 324. \$1.50.

overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope — as if it had not been overthrown — would be, in an exceptional and eminent sense, both unjust and dangerous to the Christian civilization of the world. Much that the archbishop says in regard to the prevalence of scepticism, and the eradication or exclusion of religion from educational and civil institutions, is true, and is set forth with great ability; and what he says as to the fundamental importance of religion in all matters pertaining to human welfare, is also well put; but when he claims that both spiritual and temporal power belong to the Pope, and are always to be asserted and exercised by him, save when, as now, the Lord, for some wise purpose, interrupts the workings of the well-laid system, we dissent, and with us the enlightened thought of the age.

The other book above referred to is a keen, well-written, and extremely plausible recital of the author's journey from the discordant realms of the Established Church of England to the happy and unified dominion of the Pope. To say that the book is entertaining, is but small praise; there is a quaint humor lurking on every page, that continually surprises the reader, and the weak points of the English Church are set forth with a precision, a completeness, and an uncton that would be amusing were it not so humiliating. The "sects," of course, have due attention given to them, and the author proves by his own experiences and observations, to his own satisfaction, at least, that only in Rome can the earnest or weary soul find peace. In discussing the vocation of the clergy he says, with much truth, that "the very idea of a vocation to the ministry has died out of English society. The mass of our countrymen have so little esteem for the doctrines of the Christian priesthood and the apostolical succession, that they can hardly be persuaded to treat them seriously. Even the vast majority of Episcopalians, both in England and the United States, neither believe their clergy to be true priests, nor wish them to be so. They respect them, often with good reason, for many pleasing qualities and personal merits; but they do not regard them as dispensers of the mysteries of God, and would be much astonished if they claimed to be so." This feeling is, we fear, not limited to Episcopalians!

The differences of belief in the Church of England are commented upon with much force; and he quotes the present bishop of Winchester, Dr. Wilberforce, as saying, "The church of England had always within herself persons of *extreme divergences of doctrine*, a thing as inevitable as having different countenances on different men." St. Paul said of any man who should introduce certain variations of doctrine: "*Let him be anathema.*" The bishop of Salisbury also says: "If legislation were to take place on many of these points," *i. e.* to attempt to enforce a uniform creed, "it would break up the church." "No one," says this writer, "entering an English parish church for the first time, could ever guess beforehand, if left to his own resources, what particular form of Christianity he was to hear, or even in what kind of ritual he was to take part." "At present," remarks an English periodical, "the church of England is an embodiment of three

religions. It teaches one religion which can hardly be distinguished from Deism; another which is almost identical with Romanism; and another which may be defined as a sort of Methodism." Naturally, after amplifying upon this prolific theme, which he expands so that it covers all Protestantism, he portrays the unvarying doctrine of the Romish Church in warm colors, and by the contrast makes a very plausible impression. In this country the author sees the land of rest, — the land of promise for the Catholic church; he is enthusiastic over the prospects of his faith in this western world, — over its inexhaustible vitality and its unexampled progress. We do not wonder at this; we only wonder at the apathy of Protestants in view of the very apparent truth of his statements on this point. The Catholic has a right to be proud of his success here, — a right to laugh at the supineness of those whose civil and ecclesiastical institutions he is so vigorously and evidently too effectually assaulting.

ANOTHER commentary! Rev. Dr. Cowles adds to his list of valuable books a critical, explanatory, and practical commentary on the Psalms,¹ which he bases on the sound principle that any just interpretation of the Scriptures must assume that they were written so as to be readily understood by the average mind of their first readers, and especially must this be true of compositions prepared for the public worship of the sanctuary, to be sung or listened to by minds of the ordinary grade of culture. In his treatment of the Psalms, Dr. Cowles aims to present the special history that belongs to each, — the author, date, the occasion, the facts and the purpose, — and supplements these studies with the bearing of the practical points upon Christian experience, and upon the moral duties of man to his Maker. More extended discussion has been allowed to difficult, controverted, and important Psalms, such as those which are supposed to be prophetic of the Messiah, and those generally called "imprecatory." As an annotator, Dr. Cowles is judicious, and his series of commentaries has great practical value.

A NEW Cyclopædia of Illustrative Anecdote² has been issued by Messrs. Randolph & Co. A book of this sort, if judiciously prepared, has many uses. It furnishes interesting reading for a leisure half-hour, or even a few minutes, when a continuous treatise would hardly be taken up. Good anecdotes are sure to fix the attention of almost any class of readers, and they commonly enforce some lesson not difficult to be understood. For those who would illustrate truth in the Sabbath-school class or the pulpit,

¹ The Psalms: with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical; designed for both Pastor and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 554. \$2.00.

² The New Cyclopædia of Illustrative Anecdote, Religious and Moral, Original and Selected. With Introduction by the Rev. Donald McLeod, D. D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

the common-school room or the popular lecture, apposite facts and incidents are often exceedingly effective. Yet few persons can be expected to have very varied resources of this kind, and the attempt to supply the want so arising is no new thing.

So far as we have been able to examine, this collection appears to be a judicious one. It of course contains things old as well as new. Great pains have been taken in gathering the facts from a variety of sources, and they are conveniently arranged under distinctive heads, or titles, so that what is wanted can easily be found. The design of the compiler seems to have been executed in detail with judgment and skill. The greater part of the anecdotes are such as some occasion might call for, and such as, if rightly used, in any form of public speaking or teaching, might add vividness and power to truth. Of course to a teacher or speaker it is a great advantage to have at command anecdotes that are fresh; but even when the fact itself is not new, the mode of putting it may give it the effect of novelty to a good degree. We think the volume likely to be found an available one for the general purpose for which it was intended. It strikes us as richer than any similar collection we have seen.

"THE Missionary World,"¹ issued by the same house, is quite different in its character from the one just noticed. It is designed to be a treasury of condensed and accurate information in regard to the great work of Christian missions. It is a notable fact that Christian missions have created a distinct department of literature; it is rapidly becoming, too, a very rich and extensive department,—one that no person can be ignorant of, and justly claim to be well educated. Geography, history, ethnology, and philology,—not to mention several departments of natural science,—are greatly indebted to the observations and labors of Christian missionaries, the results of which have been embodied in missionary publications.

In this book an attempt is made to present a condensed summary of information in relation to the entire missionary work throughout the world. The materials are well arranged in sections, and a tabular view of missionary societies at the present time, together with a good index, are added at the end. Of course it is but a bird's-eye picture of the vast field of evangelizing labor that can be presented in so small a compass; yet even thus a great amount of information is made easy of access.

The author's or compiler's idea is good, but the execution unsatisfactory. It is only fair to state that the book is English, and has the usual faults of such books, in either lamentable ignorance or reprehensible omission of American matters. The grand operations of our missionary societies are passed over with very light touches; and important facts, such as are indispensable to a proper understanding of the present condition of the heathen world as related to missionary effort, are wholly omitted. Statis-

¹ The Missionary World: Being an Encyclopædia of Information, Facts, Incidents, Sketches, and Anecdotes relating to Christian Missions in all Ages and Countries, and all Denominations, etc. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

tics are not brought down to recent dates, men and matters known the wide world through are passed by in silence; and the reader can only regret that what should and might easily have been a valuable contribution to religious literature falls far short of its aim. It is not wise for our publishers to reprint English books without a careful revision.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

W. R. GREG is a man who is troubled by various "Enigmas of Life"¹ which he cannot solve, a state of mind with which all can sympathize to a greater or less extent. He discusses them fearlessly, and with no little originality, but at the end is no nearer a satisfactory result than when he began; indeed, his reasonings and deductions only seem to depress and confuse him. The difficulty is, he tries to comprehend the incomprehensible, to know the unknowable, to explain the inexplicable.

The topics he selects are those which very largely engage the thoughtful minds of the day, which involve man's present and future welfare. He evidently has no pet theories to advance, and is outside of any and all theologies. He expresses a belief in only two things, — a Creator, and a continued life beyond the grave; and even this belief is without reason, is but a mere assumption, — a relic, he surmises, of early religious training, when the mind is

"Wax to receive, and marble to retain."

There is no cogent proof of a Creator, and visible and ascertainable phenomena give no countenance to the theory of a future or spiritual life; yet he admits the possibility, and perhaps the probability, and so has a basis for his discussions. In his first essay, "Realizable Ideals," he attempts to show that our highest ideals may possibly be reached, that evil may be eradicated, that sin and suffering, caused by man, may be cured by man. But he finds, *per contra*, that as the race improves (if it does), "our growing tenderness to suffering is accompanied with a corresponding gentleness towards wrong. Our morality grows laxer as our hearts grow softer. We are nearly as charitable to the sinner as to the sufferer. We condemn nothing very bitterly. We punish nothing very severely. . . . Christianity condemns riches and the love of riches, as a snare, a danger, and almost a sin. Yet in England and America, perhaps the two most sincerely Christian nations in the world, — one the cradle, the other the offspring, of Puritanism, — the pursuit nearest to the universal one, the passion likeliest to a national one, is money-getting."

Mr. Greg next discusses the famous Malthusian theory, and is inclined to believe that, notwithstanding serious hinderances, the race may reasonably indulge hopes of indefinite progress and attainment. He frankly admits that he can discern no flaw in the premises or argument of Malthus; that, while population increases in a geometrical ratio, food can increase only in an arithmetical ratio, and that, ultimately, there must be great suf-

¹ Enigmas of Life. By W. R. Greg. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 12 mo. pp. 322. \$2.00.

fering and misery ; but, on the other hand, he detects traces of laws that may operate successfully in an opposite direction. Then follow essays on "The Non-Survival of the Fittist," the "Direction of Human Development," and the "Significance of Life." In the essay "De Profundis," he attacks Calvinism bravely and pointedly, and, as is usual in such efforts, he sees nothing good, nothing logical, nothing but a horrible incubus on the human soul, and he sums up by questioning whether a Calvinist believes his creed. But an opposite creed does not satisfy ; as, for instance, a Calvinistic father spends his married life "in furnishing souls for Satan," because, according to his creed, an overwhelming majority of souls are to be eternally lost ; while the believer in a creed of universal salvation "has the privilege of calling into being nearly as many deferred angels as he pleases, of creating reversionary heirs of glory" ; and no matter whether he can support them or not, or give to them healthy bodies and moral training, "for what is any amount or severity of transient suffering in a probationary state, in comparison with that marvellous and enduring felicity, which, once in life, is their secure inheritance at last ? and thus the doubting man finds no comfort in either creed !" But here he reaches a remarkable conclusion : "It is, therefore, just this special claim to certainty, to absolute, authoritative truth, which is the inspiring and life-giving power of all religions, which is also the one false element common to them all . . . that religions hold and exercise their mighty and elevating sway over human imagination and volition by virtue of the one fundamental assumption or assertion common to them all, which in all alike is false." The discussion on prayer is more sharp and ingenious than convincing, and he finds that the only consistent prayer, if there be such, is, in substance, "Guide us aright, and deliver us from evil." The last essay is, in many respects, the most satisfactory, and yet it leaves the reader in a confused, if not depressed state of mind, at a loss what to believe about himself either in this world or the next. The author would fain destroy without building up ; take away what we now believe and give no substitute ; create doubts and leave us doubting ; propound a score of troublesome enigmas with no hints for their solution. We have given some space to the book that our readers may know something of the direction of speculative modern thought. Mr. Greg is always reverent, serious, evidently in earnest, and has a forcible way of expressing his ideas ; but he flounders beyond his depth, and fails because he attempts to comprehend that which can be known to God alone. A well-balanced, calm mind can read the book with profit ; to others it will only be a prolific source of scepticism.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ONE night last summer we looked up from our broiled blue-fish at the table of the Sea View House, at Martha's Vineyard, as a quiet, modest-appearing gentleman took a seat opposite, and called for supper in a manner that showed that he knew the proprieties and capabilities of the English language in its relations to the human stomach. The conventional table-talk began to be enlivened by pithy remarks, so compounded of sense and

humor that we sat longer than was our intention, and ate more than was for our good. The mild-mannered man, with hair sprinkled with gray, and with a bright, self-possessed eye that looked through the spectacles (not eye-glasses) with keen observation, was reserved than otherwise; but each and every remark was so really good—so apt—that when we rose we felt that our double meal for body and mind was to be remembered.

A little while after we were introduced to our table friend, and found in him Charles Dudley Warner, whose "*My Summer in a Garden*" had made us and the public his debtors for all time to come. *Then* we understood the genial table-talk, and were pleased to find the man as pleasing as the author,—to find that his writings, instead of being mere flashes of genius, were true transcripts of what might be his every-day conversation.

This by way of episode; but it serves to introduce his last book, "*Back Log Studies*,"¹ one of the most charming, enlivening, humorous, and sensible books of the year,—one that appeals "to every generous thought and grateful feeling"; and while it is in the highest degree entertaining, it has an undercurrent of seriousness that conduces to the solid profit of the reader. Hundreds of those who read the book never have seen a "back log," and perhaps cannot tell what the words mean; hundreds, too, know nothing of the cheery comfort of an open wood-fire, with real "andirons," and a chimney that opens its broad throat to the sky; but even these unfortunates can imagine that of which they read, and, to an extent, appreciate Mr. Warner's musings. One great charm of the book is the continual outcropping of genuine, crisp humor, in places and in ways that are delightfully surprising and surprisingly delightful. The reader feels that nothing is attempted artificially by the author, but that the thoughts flow out naturally, that the effervescing humor must and will sparkle and bubble on every page. The opening paragraph is a fair sample of the humorous features of the book, while it also shows that appreciation of good points, that readiness and aptness in illustration, that go far towards making up the general character of the volume:—

"The fire on the hearth has almost gone out in New England; the hearth has gone out; the family has lost its centre; age ceases to be respected; sex is only distinguished by the difference between millinery bills and tailors' bills; there is no more toast-and-cider; the young are not allowed to eat mince-pie at ten at night; half a cheese is no longer set to toast before the fire; you scarcely ever see in front of the coals a row of roasting apples, which a bright little girl, with many a dive and start, shielding her sunny face from the fire with one hand, turns from time to time; scarce are the gray-haired sires who strop their razors on the family Bible, and doze in the chimney corner."

If this is not enough to tempt one to purchase and peruse the book, read this passage, which will be well appreciated by every one who knows what the cellar of a country-house is, and what it contains:—

¹ *Back Log Studies*. By Charles Dudley Warner. With twenty-one illustrations by Augustus Hoppin. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Small quarto. \$2.00.

"Who can forget the smell that comes through the open door [of the cellar],—a mingling of fresh earth, fruit exhaling delicious aroma, kitchen vegetables, the mouldy odor of barrels,—a sort of ancestral air, as if the door had been opened into an old romance? Do you like it? Not much. But then I would not exchange the remembrance of it for a good many odors and perfumes that I do like."

Of Hoppin's illustrations to the book, we can only say that we could wish them either omitted or better.

WISHING-CAP PAPERS,¹ a new collection from Leigh Hunt's writings, is one of the most entertaining books of the season, and it will have more than an ephemeral popularity. These essays are on divers attractive topics, and are full of good sense enlivened by humor, by charming descriptions of nature, and by racy comments on authors and books. None of these papers are long, and none are dry and tame. Each has its peculiar beauties, and the reader is led on from one to another in a very pleasant and alluring way. We are carried back a generation by some of them, but always with entertainment and profit. Mr. Babson, better known to the world of letters as "Tom Folio," has shown remarkable diligence and zeal in rediscovering these essays; indeed, with a very few more years of life, we are sure there would be nothing that ever came from the pen of Charles Lamb or Leigh Hunt which would escape his eye. His notes of explanation, and his brief, but always pertinent, comments, add much to the value of the volume, and make plain all the little mysteries that might otherwise trouble the general reader.

We give the titles of two excellent text-books, which we commend to school committees and teachers: *Compendious Grammar of the Greek Language*. By Alpheus Crosby, Professor Emeritus of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Woolworth, Ainsworth & Co. New York and Chicago. 1871. 12mo. pp. 370. *Independent Sixth Reader*: containing a Complete Treatise on Elocution, both Scientific and Practical, illustrated with diagrams; select and classified readings and recitations: with copious notes, and a full supplementary Index. By J. Madison Watson. A. S. Barnes & Co. New York and Chicago. 1872. 12mo. pp. 456. \$1.50.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York.

Illustrated Library of Travel and Adventure. Siam, The Land of the White Elephant, as it was and is. Compiled and arranged by George B. Bacon. 12mo. pp. 347. \$1.50.

The Foreigner in Far Cathay. By W. H. Medhurst, H. B. M. Consul, Shanghai. 1873. 12mo. pp. 204. \$1.25.

Year-Book of Nature and Popular Science for 1872. Edited by John C. Draper, M. D., Prof of Natural History and Physiology in the College of the city of New York, etc. 1873. 12mo. pp. 333. \$1.25.

¹ *Wishing-Cap Papers*. By Leigh Hunt. Now first collected. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 16mo. pp. 455. \$1.50.

The Lake Regions of Central Africa. Compiled and arranged by Bayard Taylor. With map and numerous illustrations. 1873. 12mo. pp. 397. \$1.50.

Index to Systematic Theology. By Charles Hodge, D. D. 1873. 8vo. pp. 81. \$1.00.

The Gospel according to Matthew, together with a General Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the New Testament. By John Peter Lange, D. D. Translated from the German by Philip Schaff, D. D. 1873. 8vo. pp. 568. \$3.00.

A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospel of Matthew, for the use of Bible Classes and Sabbath Schools. By J. J. Owen, D. D., LL. D. 1873. 12mo. pp. 415. \$1.25.

The Gospel according to Matthew, explained by Joseph Addison Alexander. 1873. 12mo. pp. 456. \$1.25.

From A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York.

The Historic Origin of the Bible. A Handbook of Practical Facts from the best recent authorities, German and English. By Edwin Cone Bissell, A. M. With an Introduction by Prof. R. D. Hitchcock, D. D. pp. 732. \$2.50.

From Dodd & Mead, New York.

Play and Profit in my Garden. By Rev. E. P. Roe, author of "Barriers Burned Away." 16mo. pp. 349. \$1.50.

Questions of the Day. By the Rev. John Hall, D. D., Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. 1873. 12mo. pp. 343. \$1.75.

American Pioneers and Patriots. Ferdinand De Soto, the Discoverer of the Mississippi. By John S. C. Abbott. 1873. 12mo. pp. 351. \$1.50.

From Ivison, Blakeman & Taylor, New York and Chicago.

Analysis of Letter-Writing. By Calvin Townsend, Counsellor-at-Law. 1873. 8vo. pp. 180.

The Chapel Hymn-Book, with Tunes, for the Worship of God. 1873. 12mo. pp. 292. \$1.25.

From Providence Press Co.

Manual of the First Congregational Church, Bristol, R. I. 1687-1872. Compiled by J. P. Lane, Pastor. 12mo. pp. 233.

From J. R. Osgood & Co., Boston.

The Other Girls. By Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, author of "Faith Gartney's Girlhood," "The Gayworthys," "Hitherto," "Leslie Goldthwaite," "We Girls," "Real Folks," etc. With Illustrations by J. J. Harley. 1873. 12mo. pp. 463. \$2.00.

Literature and Dogma; an Essay towards a better Apprehension of the Bible. By Matthew Arnold, D. C. L. 1873. 16mo. pp. 316. \$2.00.

From W. F. Draper, Andover.

Suggested Emendations of the Authorized English Version of the Old Testament. By Elias Riggs, D. D., Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M., at Constantinople. 1873. 16mo. pp. 130. \$1.25.

From Lee & Shepard, Boston.

The Jubilee Singers, and their Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars. By G. D. Pike, with Photographs. 1873. 12mo. pp. 219. \$1.25.

Dialogues and Dramas ; Public and Parlor Readings for the use of Dramatic and Reading Clubs, and for Public, Social, and School Entertainment. Edited by Lewis B. Monroe. 1873. 12mo. pp. 341. \$1.50.

From Roberts Brothers, Boston.

Work : a Story of Experience. By Louisa M. Alcott. 12mo. pp. 443. \$1.75.

From American Tract Society, Boston.

The Ministry we Need. By S. Sweetser. "The harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few." 16mo. pp. 123. 75 cents.

From A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.

Logical Bookkeeping. The Logic of Accounts ; a new Exposition of the Theory and Practice of Double Entry Bookkeeping. Illustrated by Examples and Memoranda for Students and Business Men. By E. G. Folsom, A. M., Proprietor of the Albany Bryant & Stratton College. 1873. pp. 442. \$2.00.

The Nature and Utility of Mathematics, with the best Methods of Instruction, Explained and Illustrated. By Charles Davies, LL. D., Emeritus Professor of Higher Mathematics in Columbia College. pp. 418. \$1.50.

Responsive Worship ; a Discourse, with Notes. By Wm. Ives Budington, D. D. 1873. 16mo. pp. 84. 60 cents.

Independent Child's Speller : Printed in imitation of Writing. 16mo. pp. 80. 25 cents.

English Grammar for Beginners. By Stephen Clark, A. M. 12mo. pp. 192. 60 cents.

The Young Declaimer ; designed for the use of Pupils in Intermediate Schools. By Charles Northend, A. M. 1872. 16mo. pp. 205. 75 cents.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

The Sanitarian ; a Monthly Journal. A. W. Bell, A. M., Editor. A. S. Barnes. \$3.00 a year.

The Upbuilding of Manhood. Sermon preached in the Broadway Congregational Church, Norwich, Conn., January 26, 1873. By Rev. Daniel Merriman. Norwich, Conn., Bulletin Printing Office. 1873.

The Memorial Pulpit. Sermons preached at the Presbyterian Memorial Church, corner Madison Avenue and Fifty-Third Street, New York. By the Pastor, Rev. Charles S. Robinson, D. D. Commenced January 1, 1873, and published each week by A. S. Barnes & Co. \$3.00 per year, or 10 cents single. Nos. 1-27, inclusive.

Manual of the Congregational Church, Hallowell, Me. 1790-1873.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Directors and Treasurer of the General Theological Library, 12 West Street, Boston, April 21, 1873.

The Publishers' Weekly. Official Organ of the Publishers' Board of Trade. F. Leyboldt, Editor and Publisher, 37 Park Row, New York. Vol. III, No. 23.

An Examination of the Demonstrations of Davies' Legendre. Showing how the Polygon becomes the Circle, by the Method of Newton. By Charles Davies, LL. D., author of a full Course of Mathematics. New York : Published by A. S. Barnes & Co., 111 and 113 William Street. 1873. 16mo. pp. 36.

QUARTERLY RECORD.

CHURCHES FORMED.

BLOOMINGTON, Ill., April 3, 90 members.
BOISE CITY, Idaho, May 4, 10 members.
BYRON, Geo., March 30.
CENTRE POINT, Io., May 2, 11 members.
CLEAR CREEK, Kan., March 12, 12 members.
DELL RAPIDS, Dakota Terr., 7 members.
HARTFORD, Ct., Wethersfield Avenue Ch., 24 members.
MAOON, Neb.
MODESTO, Cal., March 23, 8 members.
OLYMPIA, Washington Terr., April.
PEARL, Kan.
POWHATTAN, Kan., May 24, 12 members.
REDDING, Cal., April, 6 members.
ROCKWELL, Io., April 29, 14 members.
SMITH CENTER, Kan., April 27.
VALLEY BROOK, Kan., May 23.
WHITE CLAY, Kan., May 18, 15 members.
WORTHINGTON, Minn., May 18, 17 members.
WYOMING, Ill., April, 14 members.

MINISTERS ORDAINED.

BEACH, GEORGE L., over the Ch. in Rootstown, O., May 21. Sermon by Rev. Heman Geer, of Edinburg. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Horace W. Palmer, of West Andover.
BRADDON, JOHN, to the work of the Ministry in Goshen, N. H., April 9. Sermon by Rev. George R. W. Scott, of Newport. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Levi Rodgers, of Claremont.
CHANDLER, JOHN S., to the work of the Ministry in New Haven, Ct., May 8.
CHILDS, TRUMAN D., over the Ch. in Chagrin Falls, O., May 21. Sermon by Rev. Hiram Mead, D. D., of Oberlin Seminary.
DAVENPORT, HENRY A., to the work of the Ministry in Stamford, Ct., June 18. Sermon by Rev. H. T. Ford, of Norristown, Pa. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Stephen Hubbell, of Long Ridge, Stamford.
DEAN, H. B., to the work of the Ministry in Prescott, Wis., May 20. Sermon by Rev. John W. Ray, of Lake City, Minn.
DEXTER, H. MORTON, over the Union Ch. Whittenton, Taunton, Mass., April 30. Sermon by Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D., of Boston. Ordaining prayer by Rev. John O. Means, D. D., of Boston Highlands.
HOWLAND, SAMUEL, to the work of the Ministry in Conway, Mass., May 7. Sermon by Rev. George M. Adams, of Wellesley. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Robert Crawford, D. D., of Deerfield.
HOWLAND, WILLIAM S., to the work of the Ministry in Conway, Mass., May 7. Sermon by Rev. George M. Adams, of Wellesley. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Robert Crawford, D. D., of Deerfield.
HUTCHINS, HENRY L., over the Taylor Chapel Ch., in Newhallville, New Haven, Ct., May 27. Sermon by Rev. James W. Hubbell, of New Haven. Ordaining prayer

by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D. D., of Yale Seminary.
JENNEY, E. W., to the work of the Ministry in Hopkinton, N. H., June 4. Sermon by Rev. Jacob M. Manning, D. D., of Boston, Mass. Ordaining prayer by Rev. John K. Young, D. D., of Hopkinton.
KILBON, CHARLES W., to the work of the Ministry in Springfield, Mass., March 10. Sermon by Rev. G. Buckingham Willcox, of Jersey City, N. J.
LEAVITT, BURKE F., over the Williston Ch. in Portland, Me., May 8. Sermon by Rev. George R. Leavitt, of Cambridgeport, Mass. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Jacob J. Abbott, of Yarmouth.
OLLERENSHAW, SAMUEL, to the work of the Ministry in St. Paul, Minn., April 2. Sermon by Rev. James W. Strong, D. D., of Carleton College.
SCHLICHTER, J. B., to the work of the Ministry in Peace, Kan.
SMITH, JAMES F., to the work of the Ministry in Beecher, Ill., May 6. Sermon by Rev. William H. Beecher, of Chicago. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Moses Smith, of Chicago.
SPRAGUE, WILLIAM P., to the work of the Ministry in New Haven, Ct., May 8.
STONE, CLARENDON A., over the Ch. in Southville, Southboro', Mass., April 2. Sermon by Rev. Francis N. Peloubet, of Natick. Ordaining prayer by Rev. John Colby, of Southboro'.
TILTON, GEORGE H., to the work of the Ministry in Hopkinton, N. H., June 4. Sermon by Rev. Jacob M. Manning, D. D., of Boston, Mass. Ordaining prayer by Rev. John K. Young, D. D., of Hopkinton.
TITSWORTH, A. J., over the 1st Ch. in Westfield, Mass., June 4. Sermon by Rev. William S. Tyler, D. D., of Amherst College. Ordaining prayer by Rev. Ralph Perry, of Agawam.
WEST, P. B., to the work of the Ministry in Franklin, Io., May 29. Sermon by Rev. Samuel C. Fessenden, of Washington, D. C.

MINISTERS INSTALLED.

AIKIN, Rev. WILLIAM P., over the Ch. in Vergennes, Vt.
BEASLEY, Rev. T., over the Ch. in Antioch, Cal., April 29. Sermon by Rev. James H. Warren, of San Francisco. Installing prayer by Rev. A. F. Hitchcock, of Rio Vista.
BELL, Rev. JAMES M., over the Ch. in North Hadley, Mass. Sermon by Rev. Julius H. Seelye, D. D., of Amherst College. Installing prayer by Rev. Warren H. Beaman, of North Hadley.
BENNETT, Rev. JOSEPH L., over the Ch. in Springfield, O., May 27. Sermon by Rev. Robert G. Hutchins, of Columbus. Installing prayer by Rev. A. Hastings Ross, of Columbus.
CLARK, Rev. FRANK G., over the Ch. in Rindge, N. H., June 3. Sermon by Rev.

William J. Tucker, of Manchester. Installing prayer by Rev. Rufus Case, of Jeffrey.

CRUMB Rev. JOHN H., over the Plymouth Ch. in Pittsburg, Pa., March 30. Sermon by Rev. James H. Fairchild, D. D., of Oberlin College.

DOUGHERTY, Rev. JAMES G., over the Ch. in Wyandotte, Kan., May 20. Sermon by Rev. L. F. Kenyon, of St. Joseph, Mo.

HITCHCOCK, Rev. A. F., over the Ch. in Rio Vista, Cal., March 15. Sermon by Rev. T. Beasley, of Antioch.

JONES, Rev. C. J. K., over the Ch. in Orient, L. I., N. Y., April 2. Sermon by Rev. Henry M. Scudder, D. D., of Brooklyn. Installing prayer by Rev. E. Whitaker.

LEE, Rev. W. B., over the Ch. in Portland, Ct., May 8. Sermon by Rev. Thomas S. Childs, D. D., of Hartford Seminary.

MONTAGUE, Rev. ENOS J., over the Ch. in Fort Atkinson, Wis., May 6. Sermon by Rev. Charles W. Camp, of Waukesha.

PALMER, Rev. CHARLES M., over the Ch. in Meriden, N. H., March 27. Sermon by Rev. Asa D. Smith, D. D., of Dartmouth College. Installing prayer by Rev. Alonzo B. Rich, D. D., of Lebanon.

SEGUR, Rev. S. WILLARD, over the Ch. in West Medway, Mass., May 7. Sermon by Rev. Mortimer Blake, D. D., of Taunton.

TILLOTSON, Rev. GEORGE J., over the Ch. in Hampton, Ct., May 29.

TITUS, Rev. EUGENE H., over the Ch. in Farmington, N. H., April 28. Sermon by Rev. George B. Spalding, of Dover. Installing prayer by Rev. Harvey M. Stone, of Rochester.

MINISTERS DISMISSED.

ABBE, Rev. FREDERICK R., from the Cottage St. Ch. in Dorchester, Mass., June 4.

ABBOT, Rev. EPHRAIM E. P., from the Ch. in Meriden, N. H., March 27.

ALDRICH, Rev. JEREMIAH K., from the Union Ch. in Groton, Mass., May 13.

ALLEN, Rev. FREDERICK D., from the Ch. in Canandaigua, N. Y., April 2.

AVERY, Rev. JOHN, from the Ch. in Lebanon, Ct., April 29.

BASSETT, Rev. EDWARD B., from the Ch. in Warwick, Mass., May 18.

BENNETT, Rev. JOSEPH L., from the Plymouth Ch. in Indianapolis, Ind., March 24.

BLISS, Rev. J. HENRY, from the Ch. in South Hadley, Mass., May 1.

BOWKER, Rev. SAMUEL, from the Ch. in Raymond, N. H., April 22.

COGSWELL, Rev. JOSEPH S., from the Ch. in Holden, Me., May 1.

COLEY, Rev. JOHN, from the Pilgrim Ch. in Southboro', Mass., April 20.

COOK, Rev. NILES P., from the Ch. in Windsor, Vt., May 15.

CUTTER, Rev. MARSHALL M., from the Ch. in Ashland, Mass., March 31.

EMERSON, Rev. THOMAS A., from the Ch. in Wolfeboro', N. H., May 14.

FAIRLEY, Rev. SAMUEL, from the Ch. in Wellesley, Mass., April 19.

FOBES, Rev. WILLIAM A., from the Ch. in Halifax, Mass., April 29.

HALLOCK, Rev. LEAVITT H., from the Ch. in Berlin, Ct., Feb. 8.

HAYWARD, Rev. SYLVANUS, from the Ch. in South Berwick, Me., April 8.

HIGGINS, Rev. LUCIUS H., from the Ch. in Lanark, Ill., March 5.

HUDSON, Rev. ALFRED S., from the Ch. in Burlington, Mass., June 3.

JEROME, Rev. THEODORE C., from the Pacific Ch. in New Bedford, Mass., March 25.

JEWETT, Rev. WILLIAM R., from the Ch. in Fisherville, N. H., April 1.

KITCHEL, Rev. CORNELIUS L., from the 1st Ch. in Guilford, Ct., March 24.

MERRILL, Rev. TRUMAN A., from the Ch. in Bernardston, Mass., May 1.

MOORE, Rev. HENRY D., from the Vine St. Ch. in Cincinnati, O.

NORTON, Rev. JOHN F., from the Ch. in Fitzwilliam, N. H., March 31.

PELTON, Rev. GEORGE A., from the Ch. in Candor, N. Y., May 1.

RICHARDSON, Rev. CYRUS M., from the Ch. in Plymouth, N. H., April 1.

SEWALL, Rev. D. B., from the Ch. in Fryeburg, Me., May 1.

SKEELE, Rev. JOHN P., from the Ch. in Hatfield, Mass., April 29.

TREAT, Rev. CHARLES R., from the Ch. in Marlboro', Mass., April 24.

VORCE, Rev. JUBA H., from the Ch. in South Meriden, Ct., May 1.

WALKER, Rev. GEORGE L., D. D., from the 1st Ch. in New Haven, Ct., May 19.

WARREN, Rev. H. VALLETTE, from the Ch. in Granville, Ill., July 1.

WATTS, Rev. JAMES, from the Ch. in Union Grove, Wis., May 1.

MINISTERS MARRIED.

BREED—BRIGGS. In Chesterfield, Mich., April. Rev. D. P. Breed, of Utica, to Miss Briggs, of Chesterfield.

BURNHAM—WELLS. In Farmington, Me., March 11. Rev. James Burnham to Miss Mary L. Wells, both of Farmington.

FINKS—ROGERS. In Geneva, N. Y., Rev. D. W. Finks to Miss Nettie V. Rogers, of Geneva.

KIDDER—GORHAM. In Jamestown, Ind., May 1. Rev. Corbin Kidder, of Poplar Grove, Ill., to Mrs. Maria C. Gorham, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

KILBON—KNOX. In Manchester, Conn., April 8. Rev. Charles W. Kilbon to Miss Mary B. Knox, of South Manchester.

KINZER—TURNER. In Hannibal, Mo., May 13. Rev. Addison D. Kinzer, of Union, Io., to Miss Katie B. Turner, of Hannibal.

SMITH—WOODWARD. In Chicago, Ill., April 23. Rev. Edward H. Smith, of Morrison, Ill., to Miss Jennie G. Woodward, of Chicago.

MINISTERS DECEASED.

BATES, Rev. PHILANDER, in Ludlow, Vt., April 9, aged 62 years.

CLARK, Rev. HOLLIS S., in Genoa Bluffs, Io., May 28, aged 35 years.

DARLING, Rev. SAMUEL D., in Oakfield, Wis., May 5, aged 66 years.

DAVIES, Rev. J., in Radnor, O., aged 77 years.

EDWARDS, Rev. J. ERSKINE, in Longwood, Mass., April 3, aged 65 years.

GOULD, Rev. DAVID H., in Schroon Lake, N. Y., Feb. 16.

KENDALL, Rev. CHARLES, in Windham, N. Y., March 19, aged 60 years.

MAYNARD, Rev. JOSHUA L., in Williston, Vt., April 25.

SABIN, Rev. LEWIS, D. D., in Templeton, Mass., June 8, aged 66 years.

TERRY, Rev. JAMES P., in Albany, N. Y., April 20, aged 61 years.

WILD, Rev. DANIEL, in Fairfield, Vt., May 14, aged 71 years.

MINISTERS' WIVES DECEASED.

BYGRAVE, Mrs. CLARA, wife of Rev. Hilary, in West Boxford, Mass., March 13, aged 21 years.

CHAPMAN, Mrs. —, wife of Rev. Calvin, in Windham, Vt., April 14.

CHENEY, Mrs. —, wife of Rev. L. W., in Mankato, Minn.

CUTLER, Mrs. SARAH D., wife of Rev. Calvin, in Auburndale, Mass., May 11, aged 34 years.

FRANCIS, Mrs. HATTIE M., wife of Rev. C. W., in San Rafael, Cal., aged 36 years.

MERRY, Mrs. MELINDA G., wife of Rev. Thomas T., in Machias, Me., April 8.

NEWELL, Mrs. ESTHER M., wife of the late Rev. Israel, in Minneapolis, Minn., May 24, aged 68 years.

ROCKWOOD, Mrs. EMILY W., wife of the late Rev. Elasha, D. D., in Peabody, Mass., May 21, aged 74 years.

ROWLAND, Mrs. TACE W., wife of Rev. Lyman S., in Saratoga, N. Y., March 23, aged 37 years.

RUGGLES, Mrs. NANCY W., wife of the late Rev. Samuel, in Fort Atkinson, Wis., Feb. 26, aged 82 years.

SMITH, Mrs. MARY S., wife of Rev. John C., in Rocky Hill, Ct., May 15, aged 68 years.

STRONG, Mrs. MARGARET S., wife of Rev. Edward, D. D., in West Roxbury, Mass., June 6, aged 52 years.

WALLACE, Mrs. SUSAN A., wife of Rev. Cyrus W., D. D., in Manchester, N. H., May 15, aged 54 years.

WHITE, Mrs. PENELOPE R., wife of the late Rev. Morris E., in Boston, Mass., April 6.

WRIGHT, Mrs. SOPHIA C., wife of Rev. Abiel H., in Cambridge, Mass., March 23.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

BUSINESS MEETING.

THE Twentieth Annual Meeting of the American Congregational Association (agreeably to notice in the "Congregationalist") was held May 27, 1873, at 12 M., in Pilgrim Hall.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Hon. E. S. Tobey, and prayer was offered by Rev. S. L. Gerould, of Goffstown, N. H.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Reports of the Directors, of the Library Committee, and of the Treasurer, were read, accepted, and referred to the Board of Directors for publication.

The following officers were then chosen for the ensuing year :

President.

HON. EDWARD S. TOBEY, Boston.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. WILLIAM W. THOMAS, Portland, Me.
Rev. NATHANIEL BOUTON, D. D., Concord, N. H.
Rev. HARVEY D. KITCHEL, D. D., Middlebury, Vt.
Rev. JACOB IDE, D. D., Medway, Mass.
Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D. D., Worcester, Mass.
Hon. SAMUEL WILLISTON, Easthampton, Mass.
Rev. THOMAS SHEPARD, D. D., Bristol, R. I.
Hon. AMOS C. BARSTOW, Providence, R. I.
Rev. LEONARD BACON, D. D., New Haven, Conn.
Hon. WILLIAM A. BUCKINGHAM, Norwich, Conn.
Hon. CALVIN DAY, Hartford, Conn.
Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D., New York City.
Rev. RAY PALMER, D. D., New York City.
Rev. WM. IVES BUDINGTON, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rev. ISRAEL W. ANDREWS, D. D., Marietta, O.
Rev. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, D. D., Cleveland, O.
Rev. NATHANIEL A. HYDE, Indianapolis, Ind.
Rev. JULIAN M. STURTEVANT, D. D., Jacksonville, Ill.
Rev. SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, D. D., Chicago, Ill.
Hon. CHARLES G. HAMMOND, Chicago, Ill.

A. FINCH, Esq., Milwaukee, Wis.
Rev. WILLIAM E. MERRIMAN, D. D., Ripon, Wis.
Rev. TRUMAN M. POST, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.
Rev. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D., Burlington, Iowa.
Rev. GEORGE MOOAR, D. D., Oakland, Cal.
Rev. HENRY WILKES, D. D., Montreal, Canada.

Directors.

Hon. EDWARD S. TOBEY, Boston.	JAMES P. MELLEDGE, Esq., Cambridge.
JOHN FIELD, Esq., Arlington.	Hon. RUFUS S. FROST, Chelsea.
Rev. ALONZO H. QUINT, D. D., New Bedford.	J. RUSSELL BRADFORD, Esq., Boston.
EZRA FARNSWORTH, Esq., Boston.	S. D. WARREN, Esq., Boston.
Rev. H. M. DEXTER, D. D., Boston.	DAVID N. SKILLINGS, Esq., Winchester.
HENRY D. HYDE, Esq., Boston.	Rev. N. G. CLARK, D. D., Boston.
Rev. JOHN O. MEANS, D. D., Boston.	RICHARD H. STEARNS, Esq., Boston.

Treasurer.

SAMUEL T. SNOW, Esq., Boston.

Corresponding Secretary, Librarian, and Assistant Treasurer.

REV. ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY, Chelsea.

Recording Secretary.

REV. DANIEL P. NOYES, Boston.

Auditor.

JOSEPH N. BACON, Esq., Newton.

After some informal remarks, the meeting was adjourned.

DANIEL P. NOYES, *Rec. Sec'y.*

THE
TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF THE
AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION,

PRESENTED MAY 27, 1873.

HOME at last! Only the workers in the interest of the Congregational House and Library can fully realize the relief and joy the completion of the one, and the good beginning — with an earnest of the ultimate finishing — of the other most surely afford. True, there are many details to be looked after, and some heavy bills to be paid, and a large funded debt to be cancelled at some day, and alcoves and plastering and tiles for the floor of the fire-proof library building to be provided, to secure the convenience and safety of our increasingly valuable collection of books and pamphlets which have been the work of years to accumulate; and so there is still a necessity for generous gifts; but the success now realized in the comfortable and convenient apartments already occupied by the active agencies of our great benevolent societies, in our Pilgrim Hall for ministerial and social gatherings, in our pleasant committee-room for associations and conferences, trustees and directors of educational and religious institutions, in our family house, as a whole, simple, substantial, grand, fittingly symbolizing the principles and polity of the founders of Christian and civil liberty here, — central in this their early headquarters, "*this success now realized*," places Congregationalism in a new attitude in its relations to other branches of the great Christian household, and in a much more favorable position to act its part in the world's conversion to Christ. The directors of this association cannot, therefore, refer to the work of the last twelve months but with devout thanksgivings to God, and with sincere gratitude to kind and sympathizing friends.

The year, now just closing, opened with the two estates already purchased, known as the club and Gardner houses, at the corner of Beacon and Somerset Streets, on their hands, without income, and available only for the proposed transformations. The plans prepared by the architects were found to require an outlay quite beyond the

means at even hopeful command. It was believed, however, that one hundred thousand dollars might be relied on as available by the time the work would be completed. Eighty-one thousand was in hand and pledged, the remaining sum was guaranteed by members of this Board, in the event other sources should fail. In the building committee, absolutely necessary changes in the two buildings to unify them and sketches for the new portions were outlined, which, when reduced to working plans, were found to be generally acceptable, and estimates brought the cost of substantially all that has now been done, within the assured sum of one hundred thousand dollars. This plan contemplated very little change in roofs, floors, partitions, plastering, cornices, doors, and general arrangements of the buildings already erected. To cut these apart, interlocked, as they were, by alternate layers of granite from top to bottom, both front and rear, and united by a sixteen-inch brick wall the entire width and from foundation to peak, to raise such ponderous structures, the one six feet, the other twelve feet, moving the latter twenty inches forward, bringing windows, floors, halls, and the solid granite ashler in each to perfect horizontal lines with the other, making, every way, one building out of the two, was both a delicate and difficult undertaking. As this seemed the only safe alternative, contracts were immediately made by the architects, Messrs. Cummings & Sears, for all the heavier work ; and this has been performed, generally, quite to the satisfaction of the committee in charge. It should be borne in mind by all the friends of this enterprise, that very little opportunity was afforded this Board for consulting their tastes or preferences in style or decorations, or appeals to the eye, any way. They found themselves pressed between the two iron necessities of making the most and the best of the possibilities of the case, or of abandoning the enterprise altogether. They chose the former, and the result, they can but hope, will be generally satisfactory.

It was confidently expected that the rooms and stores would be ready for occupancy early in November, surely before the end of the year. But there were unexpected delays in adjusting the old to the old, and the old to the new, so as to make them harmonize in the one structure, besides an indefinite number of unforeseen, and so unforefended interventions. It was not until the first of February, 1873, that any part of the building was fit for occupancy. The close of that month found the different societies contemplating a present residence here in their places, and it is believed that they have come to feel themselves quite at home. The American and Woman's Boards occupy thirteen rooms, the New-England Secretary of the American

Missionary Association two, the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society two, the American Peace Society two, the City Missionary Society one, the New-England Secretary of the American Congregational Union one, the Congregationalist three, the Congregational Publishing Society occupies the corner store with its large basement, and the New-England Secretary of the American Seaman's Friend Society has his desk there. All the Congregational benevolent societies, having offices in Boston, except the Education Society, are now here, found under one roof, doing the one great Christian work our churches furnish them the means of doing.

The main building is now finished, and the stores are all under rent. The interior of the library, to complete which twenty-five thousand dollars will be required, has not been commenced. The walls, the windows with iron shutters, iron doors, iron, brick and cement floor are waiting the anxiously looked-for, prayed-for, and expected receipt of the sum named above, to give us, ere long, the best, chiefly because the most secure, library building in New England. Two large rooms on the fourth floor, now occupied by parts of the library, the large part of it being packed away solid in the attic, will be available for rent as soon as the library building is finished. Two parlors fronting Beacon Street, on the second floor, have not yet found the desired occupants. But it is believed these will soon be called for, thus filling the only vacancies in the entire structure.

The directors have felt themselves justified in affording the rooms occupied by our benevolent societies at a rental nearly twenty per cent below what would be deemed a fair mercantile price. They had dared to hope that the responses from the churches to their numerous appeals would have been such that these rents would have been scarcely more than nominal.

In raising funds, either by new subscriptions or contributions, or even the redemption of pledges relied upon, success has not been equal to our hopes or needs. The Fair, which opened propitiously, and for which ample provision had been carefully made, was greatly embarrassed by the breaking out of the epizootic on its third day, cutting down the receipts of the second day of over twenty-three hundred dollars to sums ranging from five to seven hundred dollars a day; so that instead of realizing the full twenty-five thousand dollars, as was reasonably expected, something less than fifteen thousand dollars were secured. The great fire of November 9th immediately supervening, disabled not a few of our best givers, and cut down or entirely cut off some of our pledged subscriptions, and compelled an

outlay of over three thousand dollars for reinsurances, and to pay assessments on broken or crippled offices. These unlooked for drawbacks, together with a year's interest on the two mortgages of one hundred thousand dollars each, general running expenses for the same period, and "the thousand and one" little things, with some not so little, necessarily incidental to such an undertaking, have given us a floating debt of something over twenty-five thousand dollars, for which it is necessary now to provide. This, with an equal sum to complete the library, shows an immediate want of the sum of fifty thousand dollars. With this in hand all would be complete and usable, and paid for except the mortgages, which could be provided for in due time.

It is further to be said that but very few churches have contributed anything during the past year. It is still one of the unsolved mysteries of the age, how the ecclesiastical descendants of the Pilgrims anywhere, especially in New-England, and more especially in Massachusetts, can withhold the small pittance of one fair contribution for this national, memorial, family, and, confessedly, much-needed home. As it is not now too late to lend "the helping hand," it may be hoped that the two fifths of all the Congregational churches in Massachusetts, and three fifths in Connecticut, and more than three fourths in the rest of the country that have, as yet, given nothing, will come to the rescue even now, and so identify themselves with this every way useful and important undertaking. It is quite certain that no similar object in behalf of and by any other branch of the great Christian household would be doomed to receive only such reluctant and scanty aid, such feeble and hesitating co-operation; and yet not one of these branches so much needs just this unifying, assimilating and invigorating home and centre of influence as the branch to which these very non-giving churches belong.

The directors wish to express most cordial thanks to the executive committee, the treasurer, the officers, attendants and workers for the several tables, and all the contributors to the Fair which was socially so eminently and singularly pleasant; and from no fault of theirs did it fail of satisfactory financial success.

For receipts at the various tables, and an account of various direct contributions, and summary of expenses, see pages 14 and 15.

The Library has received comparatively little attention except from the assistant librarian, who is continuing the slow but important work of cataloguing the pamphlets. For particulars, see report of library committee.

For financial statement, see treasurer's report, page 16. It should

be said that of the eighty-one thousand dollars pledged and in hand at the commencement of this closing year, about six thousand dollars have not been paid ; upon only a part of it can the directors confidently rely as ultimately available.

The dedicatory services of the Congregational House were held in Pilgrim Hall, February 12, 1873, at 2 o'clock P. M. The principal address was delivered by the Rev. William Ives Budington, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y. Brief remarks were added by a number of distinguished friends. The address, remarks, prayer of dedication, brief history of the association, together with its charter, constitution, by-laws, and present officers, have been printed in a neat octavo volume of one hundred pages, having the engravings of the front elevation, second floor, and small map which appeared sometime since in the "Congregationalist." It is well bound in cloth, and will be sold for one dollar, and will be sent to any address, postage paid, on the receipt of that amount by the corresponding secretary. Only a very small edition has been issued.

The directors wish to make especial mention of the generous and unsolicited gifts of different gentlemen, as follows, viz., the beautiful and substantial door hinges, handles, knobs, bolts for double doors, and locks, by members of the two Congregational churches of New Britain, Ct. ; the fine chandelier in the librarian's room, together with the pendants and brackets in the Beacon-street corridors, from Messrs. Cornelius & Sons, of Philadelphia, through Messrs. G. & C. P. Hutchins, of Providence, R. I., the latter adding the fixtures and putting them up with their own hands ; the gift of fifty dollars towards the chandeliers in Pilgrim Hall, from William Carlton, Esq., of Charlestown ; and the gift of pendants, fixtures, and putting up the same in Somerset-street corridors, by N. W. Turner, Esq., of this city.

The directors can but hope that the next annual report will chronicle the completion and occupancy of the library building, and the commencement of a sinking fund that will doom the two mortgages to an assured extinction.

By order of the directors.

ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY,
Corresponding Secretary.

REPORT OF LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

THE committee on the library have little to say, except that the books and pamphlets, and other articles of value belonging to the association, have been safely removed to the new building, where they are stored as suitably and conveniently as seems possible under the circumstances.

The number of bound volumes is fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty, — an increase of five hundred and eighty-eight over last year. The number of pamphlets added during the year is five thousand two hundred and seventy, making, it is estimated, nearly sixty thousand in all.

Several valuable manuscripts have also been added to our collection during the year, and among other matters of interest, a portrait of the well-known Parson Milton, of Newburyport, presented by his daughter, Mrs. A. M. Long.

It is greatly to be desired that before another anniversary the new library should be completed, and our invaluable collections placed there in safety and in a position where they may be open to convenient consultation.

For the Committee.

HENRY M. DEXTER,

Chairman.

DONATIONS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

	Vols.	Pam.
Allen, A. S., Salem, O.	1	
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester		2
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston	37	699
American Peace Society, Boston	1	
Anderson, Rev. Rufus, D. D., Boston Highlands	5	121
Ayer, Rev. F. D., Concord, N. H.		1
Bassett, Rev. E. B., Warwick	1	
Blanchard, Mrs. C. R. D., Lowell	71	1,380
Bonney, Rev. N. G., Poquonock, Ct.		1
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.	1	
Brigham, Rev. David, Bridgewater		8
Bruce, Rev. Henry J., Ahmednuggur		2
Burgess, Miss Martha C., Dedham		22
Bush, Rev. C. P., D. D., New York City	2	
Chapin, C. N., Melrose		56
Chapman, Rev. F. W., Rocky Hill, Ct.	3	

	Vols.	Pam.
Chapman, Geo. H., Saybrook, Ct.	2	
Chapman, Rev. Jacob, Kingston, N. H.	1	
Clapp, J. B., Boston	1	
Clark, Rev. S. D., Post Mills, Vt.	1	
Coffin, A. C., and Mrs. Henry Hill, Groton	2	
Congregational Publishing Society, Boston	166	
Cowles, J. D., Peacham, Vt.		1
Cushing, Deacon Andrew, Boston	1	24
Drake, S. G., Boston	2	
Dresser, Rev. Amos, Linwood, Neb.		1
Eaton, Rev. J. M. R., Medfield		1
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, Dedham, 3 Manuscripts		
Egleston, Rev. N. H., Enfield, Ct.		1
Ely, R. W., Chester, Ct.	2	4
Ely, Mrs. H., Chester, Ct.	8	16
Evarts, Mrs. —, Killingworth, Ct., 2 Manuscripts	2	18
Frost, Hon. Rufus, Chelsea	4	
Giles, Joel, Esq., Boston	10	
Gilman, Rev. E. W., New York City		6
Green, Samuel A., M. D., Boston	8	425
Hallock, Rev. William A., Jamestown, N. Y.	102	66
Hammond, Rev. William B., Acushnet		1
Hanks, Rev. S. W., Boston, Newspapers		
Holmes, Rev. J. M., Estate of, Jersey City, N. J.		102
Hooker, Rev. H. B., D. D., Boston	1	
Hyde, Rev. H. F., Pomfret, Ct.	11	
Ketchum, Rev. Silas, Bristol, N. H.	52	247
Kingman, Abner, Boston	14	329
Kirk, Rev. E. N., D. D., Boston	1	
Kyte, Rev. Joseph, Alfred, Me.		1
Long, Mrs. A. M., Chelsea, Portrait	3	
Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, Boston		165
McKenzie, Rev. A., Cambridge		1
Means, Rev. James H., Dorchester		11
Merriman, Rev. William E., Ripon, Wis.		2
Miller, Rev. William, Killingworth, Ct., 13 Manuscripts	2	67
Newcomb, Miss H. D., Westminster, Vt.	7	
Packard, Prof. A. S., Brunswick, Me.		7
Parsons, Rev. E. G., Byfield		481
Punchard, Rev. George, Boston, Manuscripts	7	
Raine, Canon, York, Eng.	1	
Rice, Rev. C. B., Danvers		1
Rupp, David C. M., Boston Highlands	3	
Scotford, Rev. John, Neosho Falls, Kan.	1	
Scudder, M. S., Boston	22	415
Shute, Eben, Boston	1	
Silliman, Miss Lydia, Chester, Ct.	1	
Stockwell, S. N., Boston	1	203
Thacher, Rev. George, D. D., Iowa City, Io.		57
Thornton, J. Wingate, Esq., Boston	1	
Tobey, Hon. E. S., Boston	1	2
Wheeler, Mrs. M. L., Burlington, Vt.	9	191
Willard, Rev. S. G., Colchester, Ct.		3
Winslow, Mrs. Myron, Boston	17	
Winthrop, Hon. R. C., Boston		1
Woods, Samuel, Malden		92

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM CHURCHES AND INDIVIDUALS.

MAINE.

Amherst, Rev. H. S. Loring	\$1 00
Banger, Prof. Wm. M. Barbour	5 00
Rethel, Rev. D. N. "	1 00
Cherryfield, John W. Coffin	25 00
Farrington, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	25 80
Foxcroft and Dover, Cong. Ch. & Soc.	55 00
Garland, a Mother in Israel, by Rev.	
P. B. Thayer	10 00
Gilead, Rev. H. Richardson	1 00
Gorham, Rev. Wm. Warren	10 00
Kittery Point, Desa. Charles Duncan	1 00
Minot, Rev. Joseph Smith	10 00
Sidney Centre, Joel Spalding	1 00
Southwest Harbor, Rev. Henry M.	
Perkins and wife	2 00
St. Johns, 3 individuals	3 00
Summer, Esq. H. A. Loring	1 00
Union, Individuals	3 00
Waldoboro', 1st Ch. and Soc.	12 00
Woolwich, Cong. "	6 70
Yarmouth, 1st " "	45 65

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Alstead, N. W. Cong. Ch. and Soc.	\$3 00
Bennington, Rev. Jas. Holmes	5 00
Campton, Dea. Wm. G. Brown	1 00
Chester, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	20 00
Claremont, " " "	14 00
Concord, West, " " "	26 00
Exeter, Rev. C. P. Osborne	5 00
Fisherville, Rev. Wm. R. Jewett	25 00
Franklin, Rev. Wm. T. Savage, D. D.	25 00
Gilmanston Centre, Cong. Ch. & Soc.	1 00
Henniker, Individuals	18 00
Hillsboro' Bridge, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	5 50
Jaffrey, Rev. Rufus Case	3 00
Kensington, Rev. E. D. Eldredge	8 00
Kingston, Rev. Jacob Chapman	5 00
Lancaster, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	17 00
Lebanon, Rev. Daniel Goodwin	7 00
New-pewee, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	7 75
Pelham, Cong. Ch. and Soc., add'l	1 00
Pittsfield, Rev. H. A. Hazen	25 00
Temple, Rev. Geo. Goodyear	1 00

VERMONT.

Benson, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	\$5 50
Berlin, " " "	20 00
Brandon, " " "	11 51
Charleston, West, Sab. Sch.	5 00
Corinth, Inslay Dow	1 00
Middlebury, L. B. M.	1 00
New Haven, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	11 10
Norwich, " " "	6 00
Peacham, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Cham- berlain	10 00
Rochester, Rev. T. S. Hubbard . . .	1 00
" Sarah J. Williams	1 00
Rutland, West, Cong. Ch. and Soc. .	13 00

St. Albans, Gyles Merrill	\$25 00
Stowe, Rev. B. F. Perkins	2 00
Swanton, C. C. Long	1 00
Townsend, West, Rev. Daniel H. Babcock	1 65

MASSACHUSETTS.

Arlington, 1st Ch. and Soc.	\$25 80
" 2d (South), additional	22 60
Adams, North, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	30 00
Amherst, E. S. Snell	10 00
" No. Parish	41 00
Arlington, Sew. Chr., Individuals	8 00
Athol, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	16 24
Ayer's 1st Cong. Ch. and Soc.	4 00
(West) additional	8 00
Ayer, Individuals	10 00
Belmont, Waverley, a friend	36 00
Berkley, Trin. Cong. Ch., Individuals	25 00
Berlin, Rev. Wm. A. Houghton	1,160 00
Boston, Shawmut Ch. and Soc.	434 25
" Highland " addl.	200 00
" Deane St. 2d Cong. Ch. and Soc., additional	200 00
" Park St. Cong. Ch. and Soc., additional	5,000 00
" Ezra Farnsworth, add'l	3,000 00
" E. S. Tobey	1,500 00
" J. C. Tyler & Co.	1,000 00
" Alpheus Hardy	1,000 00
" J. Melledge	600 00
" R. H. Stearns, in part	500 00
" Fogg, Houghton & Coldidge	500 00
" A. D. Lockwood	500 00
" J. M. Pinkerton	250 00
" D. T. Colt, M. D.	250 00
" Chas. Carruth	250 00
" C. V. Brown	127 50
" Jordan, Lovett & Co.	100 00
" Thank-offering	60 00
" Rev. Geo. Gannett	60 00
" J. A. Howard	5 00
" Otis Clapp	5 00
" Mrs. M. G. Leavitt	5 00
" W. H. Wentworth	1 00
" J. C. Jones	1 00
" Albert Barnes Cooley	1 00
" Miss Sarah E. Lane	15 00
Boylston, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	3 00
Brantree, Mrs. E. B. Waterman	10 00
Bridgewater, Rev. Isaac Dunham and family	1 00
Brookfield, O. C. Howe, additional	65 20
" Sarah E. Gillett	34 00
Cambridgeport, Pilgrim Ch. and Soc., " E. D. Goodrich	7 00
" Joel W. Fletcher	250 00
Charlemonct, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	1 00
Charlestown, 1st " " in part, Rev. Jas. Atken	19 00
Chelsea, Miss A. M. Duval	2 00
" Miss Elizabeth Davenport	5 00
" Miss M. I. Chittenden	5 00
Chesterfield, Rev. Edward Clarke " Richard Clarke	5 00

Lebanon, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	\$66 81
" Goshen Society	18 00
" Rev. John Avery	2 00
Middletown, 1st Ch., Individuals . . .	32 00
Naugatuck, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	37 55
New Britain, So. Ch. and Soc.	87 57
New Haven, Rev. L. Bacon, D. D. . . .	10 00
New London, 1st Ch. and Soc.	101 56
" 2d " " "	218 86
New Milford, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	124 76
Norfolk. " " " "	40 00
Old Saybrook, " " " "	38 24
Plainfield, Rev. B. F. Northrop . . .	1 00
Plymouth, Thomaston, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	54 64
Pomfret, Abington, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	8 00
Preston, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	21 00
Redding, " " " "	6 80
Saybrook, Deep River, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	20 39
Stafford, West. Cong. Ch. and Soc. . .	4 00
Thompson, Rev. Thos. Tallman	5 00
Vernon, Rockville, 2d Ch.	20 00
" Rev. Giles Pease, W. D.	5 00
" Talcottville, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	15 00
Warren, 3 friends of the new building	3 00
Washington, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	4 75
" New Preston, Rev. Henry Upson	10 00
Westbrook, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	41 65
Winchester, West Winsted, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	39 89
Windsor, Misses Hayden	5 00
Woodbury, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	4 00
" North " " "	17 36
Woodstock, Rev. N. Beach	5 00

NEW YORK.

Bethel, Welsh Ch.	\$2 00
Brentwood, E. F. Richardson	2 00
Brooklyn, Clinton Av. Ch. and Soc. add'l.	150 00
Brooklyn, Rev. W. H. Whittemore . .	5 00
Camden, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	11 00
Floyd, Welsh Ch.	2 00
Madrid, out station	4 00
Massena, Levi S. Stearns	10 00
Miller's Place, Rev. Aaron Snow . . .	1 00
New York city, Broad. Tab. Ch. and Soc.	256 73
New York city, Chas. L. Mead	50 00
Oswego, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	42 37
Oxford, Miss Sophia Glover	1 17
Remsen, Welsh Ch.	4 00
Syracuse, Rev. J. C. Holbrook, D. D. .	5 00
Utica, 1st Cong. Ch.	7 00

NEW JERSEY.

Orange, Trin. Cong. Ch.	\$10 00
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PENNSYLVANIA.

Ebensburg, Rev. T. R. Jones	\$1 00
Philadelphia, Cen. Ch. and Soc. . . .	30 00
" Jas. Smith	100 00
" Mrs. Augusta E. Russell	1 00
	\$132 00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	\$57 92
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SOUTH CAROLINA.

Beaufort, John Conant	\$25 00
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GEORGIA.

Atlanta, Rev. C. W. Francis	\$9 00
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ALABAMA.

Athens, 1st Ch. and Soc.	\$3 50
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Marion, " " " "	5 50
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MISSISSIPPI.

Hamilton, Cong. Ch.	\$1 00
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TENNESSEE.

Nashville, Un. Ch. and Soc.	\$10 00
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KENTUCKY.

Camp Nelson, Ch. of Christ	\$5 00
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OHIO.

Charlestown, Rev. Hinds Smith . . .	\$1 00
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Mantua, 2 ch. members	2 00
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Randolph, W. G. Dickinson	6 00
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Tallmadge, Benev. Soc. (of which from Rev. Chas. Cutler, \$10)	22 27
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\$31 27

ILLINOIS.

Chicago, Rev. Wm. Patton, D. D. . . .	\$32 00
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" Mrs. Comings	15 00
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" Rev. G. S. F. Savage	2 00
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" K. A. Burnell	1 00
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Danvers, Rev. H. D. Platt	1 00
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Galesburg, 1st Cong. Ch. and Soc. . .	32 00
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Lisbon, Rev. A. W. Curtis	55
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Morrison Rev. E. G. Smith	5 00
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Ontario, Rev. H. M. Tupper	1 00
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Providence, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	13 00
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Springfield, 1st " " " "	74 70
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\$177 25

MICHIGAN.

Allegan, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	\$4 00
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Battle Creek, Rev. J. Maile	1 00
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Detroit, M. J. Messinger	2 00
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Mattawan, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	5 00
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Port Sanilac, Rev. Daniel Berney . . .	1 00
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\$13 00

WISCONSIN.

Appleton, Rev. Edward Ebbs	\$1 00
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Arena, Rev. D. M. Jones	5 00
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Beloit, Rev. A. L. Chapin	10 00
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Bristol, Rev. Thos. Gillespie	5 00
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Delavan, Cong. Sab. Sch.	\$5 00	CALIFORNIA.	
East Troy, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	3 03	Antioch, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	\$2 50
Fond du Lac, " " " "	34 72	Benicia, Rev. W. L. Jones	2 28
" " Rev. F. B. Doe and		San Francisco, Rev. J. Rowell	10 00
family	5 00	" " Rev. J. H. Warren	1 13
Kenosha, 1st Ch. and Soc.	7 00		
Royalton, Rev. M. L. Eastman	1 00		\$15 89
Stoughton, Rev. R. Sewell	1 00		
	\$77 75	MISCELLANEOUS.	
MINNESOTA.		Ahmednuggur, India, Rev. H. J.	
Hutchinson, Rev. S. R. Butler . . .	\$1 00	Bruce	\$25 00
Northfield, Rev. Jas. H. Strong . . .	5 50	Constantinople, Rev. M. H. Hitchcock,	5 00
Prairieville, East, Rev. L. O. Gilbert,	2 00	Eaton, P. Q., S. A. Hurd	3 00
Waseja, Rev. Chas. Shedd	3 00	Erzroom, Turkey, Rev. J. E. Pierce,	5 00
	\$11 00	Two friends	2 50
IOWA.		Metal Money	376 34
College Springs, Rev. D. R. Barker,	\$1 00	Pamphlets	1 00
Council Bluffs, Cong. Ch. and Soc. .	10 00		\$418 04
Danville, Rev. E. P. Smith	3 00	SUMMARY.	
Decorah, Rev. E. Adams	1 00	Maine	\$219 15
Fairfax, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	7 05	New Hampshire	225 25
Glenwood, Rev. L. S. Williams and		Vermont	115 70
wife	2 00	Massachusetts	30,157 89
Kellogg, Rev. Richard Hassell	1 00	Rhode Island	1,584 00
Manchester, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	6 00	Connecticut	1,897 84
Marshalltown, " " " "	7 15	New York	553 32
New Hampton, Rev. Thos. Bayne . . .	1 00	New Jersey	10 00
	\$39 20	Pennsylvania	132 00
MISSOURI.		District of Columbia	57 92
Brookfield, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	\$7 00	South Carolina	25 00
Laclede, Rev. E. D. Seward	5 00	Georgia	9 00
Neosho, Cong. Ch. and Soc.	5 00	Alabama	9 00
	\$17 00	Mississippi	1 00
KANSAS.		Tennessee	10 00
Junction City, Rev. Isaac Jacobus . .	\$2 00	Kentucky	5 00
Manhattan, Cong. Ch. and Soc. . . .	3 40	Ohio	31 27
	\$5 40	Illinois	177 25
NEBRASKA.		Michigan	13 00
Columbus, Cash	\$2 00	Wisconsin	77 75
Junipa, Rev. Thos. Pugh	5 00	Minnesota	11 00
Santee Agency, Rev. A. L. Riggs . . .	1 00	Iowa	39 20
	\$8 00	Missouri	17 00
		Kansas	5 40
		Nebraska	8 00
		California	7 89
		Miscellaneous	418 04
	\$8 00		\$35,825 93

RECEIPTS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL FAIR.

TABLES I. Confectionery, \$174.75. II. Cottage Street, Dorchester, \$256.31. III. Newton, \$503.00. IV. South Boston, \$952.85. V. Mt. Vernon, \$708.80. VI. Winthrop Church, Charlestown, \$426.68. VII. Framingham, \$344.64. VIII. Union, \$1,224.60. IX. Shawmut, \$916.61. X. Chelsea, \$816.35. XI. Cake, \$132.92. XII. 1st Parish, Charlestown, \$497.75. XIII. Dorchester, \$792.54. XIV. Newburyport, \$309.50. XV. Donation, \$290.83. XVI. Lynn and Swampscott, \$615.16. XVII. Cambridge and Arlington, \$438.32. XVIII. Children's, \$176.05. XIX & X. Highlands, \$1,059.12. XXI. Park Street, \$1,322.15. XXII. Woburn, \$315.97. XXIII. Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin, \$110.17. XXIV. Flower, \$549.80. XXVI. Fruit, \$85.00. XXVII. Restaurant, \$1,216.50. Door, \$1,569.79. Secretary's desk, \$377.95. Hat and Coat room, \$51.62. Total, \$16,346.64.

DONATIONS AND TICKETS SOLD.

Amesbury and Salsbury Mills, Cong. Soc.	\$32 00	Marblehead, Rev. E. A. Lawrence . . .	\$5 00
Amherst, Miss Mary Cooper	5 00	Marion, a Friend	5 00
Amherst, N. H., Rev. Wm. Clark	10 00	Marshfield, Miss Esther Sampson . .	5 00
Asbury, Rev. J. M. Bacon	2 00	Medway, Rev. D. Sanford	2 00
Ashland, Neb., Ladies of Cong. Ch. . .	8 50	" West, Cong. Ch.	12 00
Boston, Maverick Ch., cash, \$145 25, tickets sold, \$65 00	210 25	Melrose, Ladies of Cong. Ch.	23 50
Boston, Mrs. Fox	4 00	Milford, Ct., Sew. Soc. of 1st Ch. . .	30 00
" Misses Ryder	4 00	New Ipswich, N. H., Children's Fair, tickets sold	2 00
" Rev. Geo. Punchard	2 00	Norwood, tickets sold	2 50
Brighton, tickets sold	25 00	Parsippany, N. J., Rev. C. C. Parker, Princeton, a Friend	6 00
Brookline, ladies of Harvard Ch. . . .	150 00	Reading, Old South Ch., cash, 50 cts; tickets sold, \$14 00	1 25
Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. Wm. McKay, Cambridge, Mrs. Hamlett	1 00	Rochester, N. H., Miss Mary Knight, Rushford, Minn., Rev. W. W. Snell, Salem, South Ch.	14 50
Canterbury, Del., C. A. Boynton	1 00	Springfield, Rev. S. G. Buckingham, D. D.	2 00
Castleton, Vt., Rev. Lewis Francis . .	5 00	Stafford Springs, Ct., Rev. W. S. Hawkes and wife	58 40
Centerville, Cong. Ch.	10 00	Stamford, Ct., 1st Cong. Ch.	20 00
Chelsea, Misses Brooks	10 00	Swampscott, C. A. Torrey	1 00
" Miss M. I. Chittenden	1 00	Taunton, Broadway Ch.	9 00
" Miss Eddy, tickets sold	23 75	Truro, Cong. Ch., Rev. Jas. Watts, Union Grove, Wis., Rev. Jas. Watts, Wakefield, Cong. Ch.	140 00
Concord, N. H., 1st Ch.	66 00	Walpole, Mrs. Stetson	2 00
Dedham, ladies of Allin Ev. Soc., cash, \$72 00, tickets sold, \$66 00, E. Andover, N. H., Individuals . . .	138 00	Waltham, 2 Ladies	2 00
" E. Haddam, Ct., "	7 00	Wellfleet, Young Ladies of 1st Ch. .	77 50
" E. Hampton, Ct., "	1 50	Whitinsville, Friends	10 00
" Ekonk, Ct., Rev. Joseph Ayer . . .	10 00	Williamstown, Rev. Mark Hopkins, D. D.	10 00
Fitchburg, Rollstone Ch.	100 00	Winchendon, North Ch.	36 31
" Lady	1 00	Winchester, cash, \$176 00; tickets sold, \$34 00	210 00
Francestown, N. H., ladies of Cong. Soc.	18 87	Worcester, Dea. Lewis Chaplin and wife	5 00
Franklin, Cong. Soc.	65 00	Friend of his country	10 00
Granby, Rev. R. Emerson	1 00	" "	50 00
Hallowell, Me., Cong. Ch.	10 00	" "	12 00
Hamilton, Mo., Rev. Geo. G. Perkins, Hartford, Ct., Rev. Wm. H. Gilbert, Haverhill, Centre Ch., cash, \$40 00, tickets sold, \$20 00	60 00	" "	5 00
Haverhill, North Ch., Young Ladies, Holliston, tickets sold	60 00		
Hyde Park, D. R. Pitts	10 00		
Kalamazoo, Mich., Rev. Jonathan Crane	1 00		
Keene, N. H., Ladies of 2d Ch.	10 07		
Lawrence, Elliot Ch. Sab. Sch.	20 00		
" Mrs. Wm. A. Russell	25 00		
Lexington, tickets sold	7 50		
Lowell, High St. Ch.	100 00		
" Mrs. C. R. D. Blanchard	10 00		

Total receipts \$18,491 63
 " expenses 3,562 19
 \$14,929 44

MEMORANDUM.

Due by the Association—

Notes payable for money borrowed	\$16,000 00
Notes payable for work and materials . .	22,814 29
Unsettled bills for alterations and repairs estimated at	4,546 00
	\$43,360 29

Less five \$1,000 Michigan & Lake Shore Railroad

Bonds at 75 per cent	3,750 00
Cash on hand	1,030 83
	4,780 83

\$38,579 46

There are also pledges still unpaid amounting to \$6,000.

The American Congregational Association in account with S. T. SNOW, Treasurer, for the year ending May 22, 1873.

[illegible]

The undersigned has this day examined the foregoing account, and has found it correct, with a balance in the hands of the treasurer in favor of the Association, of one thousand and thirty dollars and eighty-three cents, which is on deposit with the Columbian National Bank. Proper vouchers for the account have been produced. The Association also owns five bonds of one thousand dollars each, of the Chicago, Michigan, and Lake Shore Railroad, which have been pledged by the treasurer as collateral security for a note given to the Columbian National Bank for four thousand dollars.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

BUSINESS MEETING.

THE Twentieth Annual Business Meeting of the American Congregational Union was held at the Lecture Room of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, on Thursday, May 8, at half-past three o'clock, P. M. Alfred S. Barnes, Esq., occupied the chair. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Alexander H. Clapp, D. D., of New York.

A summary of the Annual Report of the Board of Trustees was presented by the Rev. Ray Palmer, D. D., Corresponding Secretary. The Treasurer read a summary of his Annual Report for the year ending May 1, 1873. On motion, it was

Voted, That the Annual Report of the Board of Trustees, and also that of the Treasurer, be accepted and published, under the direction of the Board of Trustees.

On motion, the President appointed a committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The committee reported the following named gentlemen for the several offices of President, Vice-Presidents, and Trustees, all of whom were duly elected: —

OFFICERS FOR 1872-73.

President.

Rev. RICHARD S. STORRS, JR., D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. WM. IVES BUDINGTON, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

ALFRED S. BARNES, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. HENRY M. STORRS, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Hon. BRADFORD R. WOOD, Albany, N. Y.

Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, D. D., New London, Conn.

Hon. WM. A. BUCKINGHAM, LL. D., Norwich, Conn.

Rev. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Andover, Mass.

Rev. MARK HOPKINS, D. D., Williamstown, Mass.

Rev. ISAAC P. LANGWORTHY, Boston, Mass.

Rev. J. M. MANNING, D. D., Boston, Mass.

Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, LL. D., Cambridge, Mass.

Hon. REUBEN A. CHAPMAN, LL. D., Monson, Mass.

Rev. JOHN O. FISKE, D. D., Bath, Maine.

Rev. CYRUS W. WALLACE, D. D., Manchester, N. H.

Rev. H. D. KITCHEL, D. D., Middlebury, Vt.

Rev. C. L. GOODELL, St. Louis, Mo.

Hon. AMOS C. BARSTOW, Providence, R. I.

Rev. J. M. STURTEVANT, D. D., Jacksonville, Ill.
 S. B. GOOKINS, Esq., Chicago, Ill.
 Rev. JULIUS A. REED, Columbus, Neb.
 Rev. GEORGE F. MAGOUN, D. D., Grinnell, Iowa.
 Rev. TRUMAN M. POST, D. D., St. Louis, Mo.
 Rev. ANDREW L. STONE, D. D., San Francisco, Cal.
 Rev. SAMUEL WOLCOTT, D. D., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Rev. GEORGE L. WALKER, D. D., New Haven, Ct.
 Rev. SAMUEL HARRIS, D. D., New Haven, Ct.
 JAMES SMITH, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hon. MARSHAL JEWELL, Hartford, Ct.
 A. S. HATCH, Esq., New York.

Trustees.

Rev. WM. IVES BUDINGTON, D. D.	Rev. GEORGE B. BACON, D. D.
Rev. DAVID B. COE, D. D.	Rev. HENRY M. SCUDDER, D. D.
Rev. ALEX. H. CLAPP, D. D.	Rev. C. H. EVEREST.
Rev. CHARLES P. BUSH, D. D.	Rev. G. B. WILCOX.
Rev. H. Q. BUTTERFIELD.	Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D.
HENRY C. BOWEN, Esq.	S. NELSON DAVIS, Esq.
ALFRED S. BARNES, Esq.	JAMES H. STORRS, Esq.
JAMES W. ELWELL, Esq.	WM. HENRY SMITH, Esq.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.	DWIGHT JOHNSON, Esq.
SAMUEL HOLMES, Esq.	J. B. HUTCHINSON, Esq.
ROBERT D. BENEDICT, Esq.	Rev. S. B. HALLIDAY.
Rev. T. J. HOLMES.	Rev. GEORGE M. BOYNTON.

Officers appointed by the Board of Trustees:—

Corresponding Secretaries.

Rev. RAY PALMER, D. D., 69 Bible House, New York.
 Rev. CHRISTOPHER CUSHING, D. D., 20 Cong. House, Boston.

Treasurer and Recording Secretary.

N. A. CALKINS, 69 Bible House, New York.

The meeting then adjourned.

N. A. CALKINS,

Rec. Sec.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE TRUSTEES.

MAY, 1873.

DURING the year which we now review, the Rev. Milton Badger, D. D., late senior secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, and for many years a trustee of the American Congregational Union, has finished his useful life, loved, honored, and lamented by all who knew him, and especially by all who had lived in close relations with him. His virtues and services have been already publicly and fully commemorated, and we need not speak particularly of them here. We recall, with tender memories, our long association with him in the business meetings of this Board, from which he was almost never absent, and how much we were refreshed by his genial and Christian spirit, instructed by his wise counsels, and encouraged by his faith. During his protracted illness we have missed him; and now that we are sure that we shall see his face no more, we desire to place on record our testimony to his exalted worth. He was eminently a good and able man, and accomplished a noble work, and he has left a name that the Congregational churches will hold in enduring veneration.

With the present anniversary, the American Congregational Union completes the twentieth year of its existence. Originating in a want widely felt, especially by the young churches out of New England, of a centre of intelligence and intercommunication in relation to common interests, and an agency for various forms of service connected with the multiplication and increased activity of our churches, it has wrought steadily on for a score of years. It has put into successful operation the system of effort originally projected. Its office in the Bible House has been a rallying point, to a certain extent, to the Congregational ministry in New York and vicinity, and to those who have come to the city from the remote parts of the country. Its annual reunion during anniversary week, by its example of Christian catholicity, has attracted no little attention even from the secular press, and has done something, it may be hoped, to promote a fraternal acquaintance and a spirit of mutual respect and sympathy among those of different names who are actuated by a common devotion to the divine Master. It has borne an important part in the organization of those new movements among our churches which have characterized the period covered by its existence, and have rendered their co-operation more effective; and above all, it has carried for-

ward, with a success beyond anticipation, the great work of aiding the new churches that were too weak to build from their own resources, in providing themselves with houses of worship. As the co-ordinate agency and necessary complement of the American Home Missionary Society, it has helped to give the missionaries of that society a permanent position for effective labor, and has so saved thousands of dollars to its treasury by putting the missionary churches in a condition to be self-sustaining. The trustees desire on this twentieth anniversary to congratulate the friends of the Union on the good which, in various ways, through the blessing of God, it has been enabled to accomplish.

CHANGES THAT TWENTY YEARS HAVE WROUGHT.

The review of our Congregational history during the last twenty years is very interesting and suggestive. Our position as a great fellowship of Christian churches has materially changed within this period. The new spirit awakened and the new measures inaugurated at the convention in Albany in 1852, prepared the way for the great council at Boston in 1865. That in its turn set influences at work which resulted in the council at Oberlin, and the decision to hold hereafter a regular triennial meeting for the promotion of Christian fellowship, and for consultation and incitement in regard to the work providentially imposed upon our churches. It has so come to pass that, as compared with twenty years ago, there is to-day among us far more of unity of purpose and greater facilities for effective co-operation and juster appreciation of our responsibilities to Christ, to our country and to the world. Our organizations for Christian action have been so adjusted in relation to each other that they are working in perfect harmony. They are now so few in number that every Congregational church can each year contribute to all of them without feeling itself overburdened, and still leave room for such calls as may be occasional and special. What is most desirable now is, that all our ministers and churches enter with heartiness and energy into the great work upon our hands. If all were ready to co-operate and to contribute, each year would witness a much more rapid multiplication of our churches and a wider application of our principles. No body of Christians could well desire better opportunities than are now open to us.

THE WORK OF CHURCH BUILDING.

When Christian work has been wisely undertaken and prosecuted it has generally happened that the fruits, after a time, have been

found to be much richer than were looked for at the beginning. This has been true in regard to the work of church-building, for which the Union became the chosen agent of the churches soon after it was organized. The necessity of this work and the great importance of it as related to the whole home missionary movement, were but partially understood at first. Every year has more clearly shown the wisdom of the policy of laying permanent foundations for Christian institutions in the new settlements at the very beginning. If it is not done then, the golden opportunity is lost. The possibility of receiving aid has encouraged new settlers to attempt building, when they would not otherwise have thought of such a thing. So the organization of churches has been stimulated and the demand for a regular ministry increased. The result is, that a noble band of churches and ministers, representing the convictions and the spirit of New England, are found to-day established and influential at the more important points of the great States and territories into which multitudes are pressing.

The whole number of churches to which grants have been paid to aid them in the erection of their houses of worship, from the beginning of the church-building movement to the present time, is over eight hundred, — a number greater than that of all the Congregational churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut taken together, and *more than half as many as are found in all New England*. Would even the most sanguine have dared to hope, at the beginning, for such results within so brief a period? To this church-building work it is largely owing that Illinois already reports but fifty-three less Congregational churches than Connecticut; Ohio three more, and Iowa twelve more than Vermont; Michigan but seven less, and Wisconsin but five less than New Hampshire; and that the number of Congregational churches *out of New England*, as reported by the "Congregational Quarterly" for January, 1873, *exceeds the number in it by three hundred and fourteen!* These results certainly exhibit a progress beyond our faith, and ought to inspire us with new courage.

WORK OF THE PAST YEAR.

At the beginning of the present year, reckoning from May to May, about eighty applications for aid were on our hands. This was a greater number than the Board had any reason to expect the churches would furnish the means of meeting within the year. It was deemed necessary, therefore, to request the superintendents of the American Home Missionary Society on the ground, to discourage other applications for a time, except in cases where the necessity for building

was really pressing. At the same time, the facts have been constantly urged on the attention of the churches with appeals for the needed funds. If the remote effects of the burning of Chicago, and of the more recent conflagration at Boston be considered, and also the depression of the business of the country, and the stringency of the money market, occasioned by the severity of the winter, and other causes, it is not perhaps to be wondered at that the responses to these appeals have not been all that could have been desired. Still they have been such as enabled the trustees to go steadily forward with their work. The treasurer has, in nearly or quite every case, remitted the money pledged as soon as the requisite papers have been forwarded. Within the year, grants have been paid, in whole or in part, to fifty-six churches that have completed their houses of worship, these grants paying the last debts. But all the while new applications have been coming in, less rapidly, however, than would have been the case but for the great number known to be already on our files. It is an occasion for thankfulness that so many churches have been helped to the conclusion of their struggles. At the same time, we cannot but regret that a work so fundamental to the enlargement and prosperity of our Congregational heritage should in any degree be held in check for the want of more ample means.

The churches to which grants have been paid during the past year are distributed among seventeen States and Territories.

CARE OF PROPERTY IN CHURCHES AIDED.

The entire value of the property invested in the churches that have received aid, is now considerably in excess of three millions of dollars. The churches owning these edifices stand in a special relation to the Congregational Union. They covenanted with it in an instrument duly signed and delivered, when they received its gift or loan, and as the conditions of the same, to do the following things, viz. : —

1. To adhere permanently to the Congregational faith and polity.
2. To maintain, perpetually, evangelical Congregational worship in the houses they were aided to build.
3. To keep said houses insured, without interruption, in responsible companies.
4. To aid the Union in its work of assisting other churches to build, by making an annual contribution to its funds.

5. Finally, in case of failure to fulfil strictly these conditions, they bound themselves and their successors to repay the money originally received, to the treasury of the Union, to be used for the benefit of others needing help.

There is a great task imposed on the Board of Trustees and the executive officers of the Union. It is necessary to look constantly and carefully after the fulfilment of these conditions. Without any intention to do wrong, it is found that these churches are very liable to fail of keeping them. Sometimes, doubtless, the failure is through a very culpable negligence. But in many cases it may happen that the minister and the officers who signed the papers, and were acquainted with the terms of the contract between the people and the Union, are speedily removed by change of residence or death, others taking their places who do not understand the pledges that have been given. In some season of discouragement a people are tempted to sell their church edifice to some other denomination ; or they suffer it to stand closed for months, or even years ; or they allow its insurance policy to expire ; or they neglect to make the promised annual collection, or in some other way violate the engagements into which they entered when they accepted aid. In every such case they lay themselves under obligation to refund the money granted them. It legally reverts to the Union, and the trustees may at once call for its repayment. Thus a great and ever-growing work of care and supervision, often involving protracted correspondence, and sometimes the employment of legal counsel, is imposed on the executive officers. Experience has clearly shown that in many cases it would prove but a waste of funds to build churches and leave the matter there. The Union, of course, has no power whatever, as it has no wish to meddle with the affairs of any church it has assisted. But it can, and must, if its officers are faithful, hold each church to the fulfilment of the legal contract executed when it drew the money which was granted it.

THE WISE EXPENDITURE OF MONEY.

It will readily be understood that in such a work as this of aiding in the erection of church edifices at so many remote points, great pains will be necessary in order to a wise expenditure of money. It will by no means do to give at random. From seventy-five to a hundred applications are annually on our files. Those who send these are liable, as persons interested, to deceive themselves and us by a wrong estimate of the advantages of the proposed position. Before a grant of money can be voted by the trustees of the Union, it must

be ascertained with certainty, by impartial testimony, gathered outside of the place from which the application comes, that it does not originate in a scheme of land speculators, or in the mere wishes or impracticable projects of settlers themselves, but on the actual needs of churches judiciously organized at the proper time and place. Such testimony is in many cases furnished by pastors of churches in other places in the neighborhood. But the greatest reliance is placed on the knowledge and judgment of the superintendents of the American Home Missionary Society, who are placed in their several positions on purpose to explore the whole ground, and to organize churches where the demand for them is real. Of these superintendents, Illinois has two, Michigan two, Iowa two, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and California, one each; and with them a direct correspondence is maintained. No application is favorably received without the endorsement of the superintendent of the district from which it comes, and this is ordinarily accompanied by one or more letters of explanation. Of course it is not to be expected that, of any hundred churches planted, every one should prove ultimately successful. No wisdom can foresee, in a new country, all changes of the currents and eddies of population. But through the superintendents, or others, on the ground, the most reliable information is obtained before any action is taken by the board.

DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE PAYMENT OF GRANTS.

It is the well-known policy of the Congregational Union, in assisting churches to build houses of worship, that every house erected by its aid shall be finished free of debt. Great difficulty, involving often tedious correspondence, sometimes attends the closing transaction between the treasurer and those representing churches to which grants have been voted, when they desire to draw the money. As the Union is pledged to the givers of its funds to appropriate and pay them only under certain express conditions, nothing is left to the discretion of the treasurer. He has *no right* to pay any grant till *every condition has been complied with in good faith*. Of course, in the great majority of cases this has been done when it has been so certified. The trustees feel obliged, however, to say, though they do it with reluctance, that in some exceptional instances there has not been that honorable frankness of statement and strict integrity in dealing which ought always to be expected of Christian men. In the paper entitled the "Certificate and Agreement," taken in connection with the "Conditions," distinctly stated in the form of

application always used, it is emphatically declared when the money granted in a given case is to be drawn, that *all the conditions of the grant have been faithfully complied with*. In affixing their names to this paper, the officers of the church, or corporate body, aided — including usually the minister, deacons and trustees — solemnly certify, among other things, these three, viz.: that the lot on which the house stands is held in fee simple; that the house itself is insured in a reliable company, and that there is no outstanding claim on the house, *in law, equity, or honor*. It will seem hardly credible when we state that, in some instances, after such a certificate had been given, it was ascertained that the lot was *not* held in fee simple, or that the house was *not* insured, or was *not* free from debt! Probably those signing declarations not warranted by facts, have themselves sometimes been deceived for want of sufficient care. They have reckoned as paid, debts informally assumed by individuals; and the persons so relied on have afterwards become embarrassed in business, or left the place, or died, without having made provision for the payment of them. But in more than one instance it has happened that one of the very persons who signed the certificate in which it was declared that no claim against the church existed but what the grant of the Union would pay, has *himself afterward brought forward a claim and urged it against the property*. In the judgment of upright business men, transactions of this sort must be regarded as intentionally fraudulent, and a flagrant sin against the Christian charity that holds out a helping hand. If all debts are not *actually paid*, they must be so assumed, that those assuming them become *legally responsible* for them; those to whom the money is due accepting the arrangement and giving the corporation holding the church property a full release, before the certificate and agreement can honestly be signed. It is earnestly hoped that every church to which an appropriation is made, will, when the time comes to ask the payment of it, rigidly conform in all truth and honor to the express terms of the grant.

THE THEORY OF THE CHURCH-BUILDING WORK.

It has been sought from the beginning so to systematize the work that the greatest practicable amount of aid may be rendered with the least possible discomfort to the pastors and churches contributing to the object. To effect this, it was seen to be necessary that by one contribution each year to the Union, each church should secure itself and its pastor against repeated private appeals. The efforts made

by the trustees in this direction have come to be pretty generally understood and appreciated. There is less and less disposition to attend to individual applications on the part of pastors and churches. Having taken up their contribution for church building for the year, and paid it over, they refer the applicant to the Union, that he may obtain his fair proportion of the common fund. They, with good reason, protest against being subjected to perpetual solicitations. When personal friends, or particular churches, having a special interest for any reason in a given case, make contributions which they wish to have applied to that case, in addition to the ordinary grant of the Union, these contributions are now very generally given through the treasury of the Union as special grants, being credited to the donors and secured to Congregational uses. The advantages of this course, and the danger of loss in giving funds without such security, become more and more apparent. The increased conviction of the wisdom of conveying all moneys raised for church erection through the Union, in trust, has recently led the churches in New York and vicinity to form an organization, the design of which is to make permanently secure, by means of the Union, all the sums raised there for local church extension. The Central Church, at Philadelphia, which last year placed in the keeping of the Union the larger portion of the fund raised for building its own edifice, has added to this another instalment the present year. It is thus that the Union is fulfilling its original intention, and promoting, by well-considered measures, the best interests of the Congregational churches.' It is reducing to order and system the efforts of the churches in this department of Christian work, and giving unity and effectiveness to the movement.

PASTORS' LIBRARIES.

As in other years, the Board has made some small appropriations for pastors' libraries, but far less than could have been wished. They have appropriated a sum, not to exceed two hundred dollars, to send the "Congregational Quarterly," furnished at a reduced rate by the proprietors, to ministers. They have also sent a number of copies to those ministers whose churches have contributed and sent more than five dollars to the treasury of the Union during the year. A few copies of the "Bibliotheca Sacra" and of the "New-Englander" have been furnished to ministers not able to become subscribers, whose churches contributed more than twenty dollars. A few sets of the back volumes of the "New-Englander," supplied for the

purpose by the publisher, at a very generous reduction, have been sent to individuals whose great need came to our knowledge. How these have been received, may be seen from such quotations from letters of acknowledgment as the following : —

"I received your circular asking me to subscribe for the 'Quarterly.' This I would do most cordially, were it in my power, having taken it and its predecessor the 'Year-Book,' from the commencement up to the point of absolute pecuniary inability. I need scarcely say that I have always prized the 'Quarterly,' the more so from the fact that I have been for the most part of the time for forty years the stated clerk of the Ecclesiastical Body with which I have been connected. Having never received a salary more than barely enough to keep soul and body together, I now find myself utterly unable to secure the *precious* privileges of literary enjoyment in the religious periodicals of the day."

"I have received so many favors from you and from others through your influence that I am ashamed to ask for more, and yet, I do want the 'Congregational Quarterly' exceedingly, but am not able to pay for it, as I am now a little over seventy-six years of age, and my general health is not good, though I try to preach on the Sabbath, and to live on a salary that in New York or Boston would be called no salary at all. Our church is poor, and our parish also."

"A delightful surprise came to us last evening in the form of the 'Congregational Quarterly.' Wife and I sat up nearly half the night feasting from its pages. I was quite ambitious to have my church self-supporting; but with self-support come many deprivations. When the salary falls short I have to go without it and curtail expenses. One by one I have had to give up the magazines until the last one has been surrendered. You may judge, then, with what delight I look over these pages. It is next thing to a family reunion, and I can hardly keep back the tears."

As the offer of these periodicals has in some instances not been rightly understood, special attention is requested to the following restatement of it, made as explicit as possible : —

1. The offer is *not* made to those who are already subscribers, and able to take the publications for themselves.
2. The "Quarterly" will be sent to any minister not included in the above-named class, *when he sends* a contribution of five dollars or more, and *distinctly requests it*. If a part of the year is past, the back numbers will be sent.
3. The "Bibliotheca Sacra," or the "New-Englander," will be forwarded, if asked for, when the contribution, sent with the request, is twenty dollars or upwards. Back numbers forwarded as above.
4. Money paid to the treasurer in repayment of loans from the Union, or money paid to be made a special grant to some church named, does not entitle to the periodicals. The offer relates to money *directly given to the treasury*.

5. The periodicals cannot be sent on the *promise* that a collection *shall be* taken and forwarded during the year. It is impossible for the officers of the Union to take the responsibility of collecting bills in cases where such promises fail. The minister may change his residence, or be removed from his post by death, and no collection be taken.

We trust that these explanations will leave no room for misunderstanding, and the requests of brethren, in accordance with them, will in all cases be attended to with promptness.

THE BOSTON OFFICE.

The completion of the Congregational House in Boston, and its use by the various co-operative Congregational societies as their centre of operations, has involved a change in our office in that city. We have secured room No. 20 for our work, especially as connected with New England.

The Union will act as publishers of the "Congregational Quarterly," and thus this valuable magazine, so useful and so honorable to the denomination, will be more fully than ever before the organ of the Union, and be issued from its office in Boston. While the Union sustains this new relation to the "Quarterly," we are happy to announce that the proprietors of the "Quarterly" do not hold the Union to any pecuniary responsibility in respect to it, but, on the other hand, meet a part of our office expenses.

It is hoped that the advantages involved in our new office will be the means of bringing the secretary at Boston into still closer contact with the pastors and members of our churches.

WHAT THE TIME DEMANDS.

As a Board of Trust, standing between the contributing churches and the churches needing aid, the trustees are painfully impressed with a sense of the insufficiency of the funds placed in their hands, as compared with the number and urgency of the appeals made to them for help. *They deeply feel that the work ought to go forward on a more liberal scale;* that aid ought to be extended to a greater number of churches, and at some of the more important points larger grants, by loan or otherwise, should be made. But they can only lay the facts before those who love Christ, and freely offer their services for the safe transmission and careful appropriation of the funds committed to them. They beg again to ask, — in view of the wants of our country and the calls made on us as Congregationalists, — if there is

no possibility of inducing *every ordinarily prosperous Congregational church to contribute something annually* to aid in establishing, in permanent form, free, evangelical, Scriptural churches at the many points where they are so urgently demanded. Except in the single year after the national council at Boston, *the Congregational churches, as a body*, have never taken hold of this work with the *esprit du corps* and the enthusiasm which the importance of the work requires. Of the New-England States, the following statistics may be given. Maine has two hundred and thirty-nine Congregational churches. Of these only *sixteen* gave anything to the treasury of the Union last year. New Hampshire has one hundred and eighty-seven, of which only *twenty-six* contributed anything. Vermont has two hundred and one, of which only *twenty-seven* contributed. Massachusetts, five hundred and three, of which only *one hundred and seven* contributed. Connecticut, two hundred and ninety-four, of which only *seventy-six* contributed. Rhode Island, twenty-five, of which only *five* contributed.

Of the churches out of New England, taking a few States as specimens, it is found that of the two hundred and fifty-three Congregational churches in New York, but *thirty-nine* gave anything. Of the two hundred and four churches in Ohio, but *twenty-nine* gave anything. Of the one hundred and eighty churches in Michigan, but *fifty-two* gave anything. Of the two hundred and forty-one churches in Illinois, but *fifty-seven* gave anything. Of the two hundred and thirteen churches in Iowa, but *sixty-three* gave anything. From these statements it appears that in these eleven States only about twenty per cent of the churches contributed to the funds of the Union, and it is quite plain that when each minister, in all the States, shall hold himself bound to see that his church fairly bears its part in the great work of church building, the result must be at least one hundred thousand dollars placed annually in the treasury of the Congregational Union. Are the majority of our churches content to be mere lookers-on, while some of their sister churches, with generous zeal, are doing so grand a work, and to have no share in the pleasure and the blessedness attending it? Strong resolutions in great meetings, calling on those who administer the several parts of the work of home evangelization for the continent, to enlarge and urge forward their operations, accomplish very little indeed if they are not made effective by liberal contributions throughout the year to enable them to do so. Let the funds be furnished, and the work will be promptly done.

INVESTED FUNDS.

It is confidently hoped that many who have ample means, have made, or will not fail to make, provision in their wills for the devoting of a portion of their property to the building of Christian sanctuaries, so that, even when they shall be themselves in heaven with Christ, they may still be helping effectually the progress of his kingdom on the earth. Very liberal legacies in some instances have been given and applied to the building of churches, which have become hallowed by scenes of Christian labor and privilege, and memorable as the birth-places of souls. In what way can any Christian invest a portion of his property with such certainty that it will bless his fellow-men and perpetuate his own good influence?

The work of the Union would be greatly facilitated by the possession of a fund so invested that it would afford annually a certain amount which could always be relied on to supplement the occasional failure of adequate annual contributions, and to meet special exigencies as they arise. If fifty or a hundred thousand dollars could by means of liberal legacies, or direct gifts for the purpose, be secured and invested in this way, the power of the Union for effective work would be greatly augmented. Who will help by his bequest or benefaction to establish such a fund,—a fund by the income of which several churches may be built every year for generations to come?

It only remains for the trustees of the Union to express the hope that the coming year of Christian work may be signalized by a far more complete co-operation of the prosperous churches, east and west, in the work of church erection, in which so much has already been accomplished, and so much more waits to be done. United effort, contributions from all our well-established churches, will give us all the resources we need, and rapidly add strength to our Congregational division of the great Christian host.

RAY PALMER,

CHRISTOPHER CUSHING,

Secretaries.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT.

*American Congregational Union, in Account with N. A. CALKINS,
Treasurer.*

Cr.

1873.	By Balance in Treasury May 1, 1872	.	.	.	.	.	\$8,726.57
May 1.	Contributions received from California	.	.	.	.	.	\$313.10
	" Colorado Territory	.	.	.	.	.	9.10
	" Connecticut	.	.	.	.	.	4,611.81
	" District of Columbia	.	.	.	.	.	57.93
	" Illinois	.	.	.	.	.	2,425.16
	" Indiana	.	.	.	.	.	50.00
	" Iowa	.	.	.	.	.	1,706.93
	" Idaho Territory	.	.	.	.	.	57.00
	" Kansas	.	.	.	.	.	781.30
	" Louisiana	.	.	.	.	.	49.80
	" Maine	.	.	.	.	.	154.82
	" Maryland	.	.	.	.	.	66.91
	" Massachusetts	.	.	.	.	.	6,968.90
	" Michigan	.	.	.	.	.	6,555.79
	" Minnesota	.	.	.	.	.	1,246.68
	" Missouri	.	.	.	.	.	463.51
	" Nebraska	.	.	.	.	.	82.50
	" New Hampshire	.	.	.	.	.	1,056.42
	" New Jersey	.	.	.	.	.	430.19
	" New York	.	.	.	.	.	9,230.91
	" Ohio	.	.	.	.	.	1,131.54
	" Oregon	.	.	.	.	.	10.00
	" Pennsylvania	.	.	.	.	.	15,239.46
	" Philippine Islands	.	.	.	.	.	25.00
	" Rhode Island	.	.	.	.	.	2,251.81
	" Vermont	.	.	.	.	.	1,549.35
	" Wisconsin	.	.	.	.	.	580.08
	" Wyoming Territory	.	.	.	.	.	100.00
	" Sundry sources for Fort Scott, Kansas	.	.	.	.	.	4,473.68
	By interest on Funds in Trust Co.	.	.	.	.	.	235.92
							<u>\$61,808.50</u>
							\$70,625.07

Dr.

1873.	To Appropriations paid to aid in Building Houses of Worship for Congregational Churches, as follows:—					
May 1.	At Modesta,	California,	(Special)	\$350.00		
	" Stockton,	"		152.16		
	" Yankton,	Dakota Territory,	(Special)	\$500.00	\$502.16	
	" "	"		1,575.00		
	" Beecher,	Illinois,		\$200.00	2,075.00	
	" "	"	(Special)	88.00		
	" Chicago, New England Church,	"	(Special)	213.50		
	" Chebanaw,	"		350.00		
	" Des Plaines,	"		400.00		
	" "	"	(Special)	400.00		
	" Mattoon,	"		300.00		
	" "	"	(Loan)	200.00		
	" South Chicago,	"		500.00		
					2,651.50	
	Amount carried forward				\$5,228.66	

Amount brought forward			
At Bloomfield,	Iowa,		\$400.00
" "	"	(Special)	205.00
" Hampton,	"		450.00
" "	"	(Special)	223.30
" Lawler,	"		450.00
" "	"	(Special)	14.00
" Newell,	"		450.00
" "	"	(Special)	429.00
" Ogden,	"		200.00
" "	"	(Special)	57.00
" Springvale,	"		500.00
" "	"	(Special)	262.00
" Stuart,	"		400.00
			<hr/>
" Centralia,	Kansas,		\$400.00
" "	"	(Special)	420.00
" Cottonwood Falls,	"		400.00
" "	"	(Special)	50.00
" Dry Creek, 1st Welsh Church,	"		300.00
" "	"	(Special)	400.00
" Fort Scott,	"	(Special)	5,000.00
" Louisville,	"		400.00
" Muscotah,	"		350.00
" "	"	(Special)	500.00
" Neodesha,	"		450.00
" St. Mary's,	"		500.00
" "	"	(Special)	56.00
			<hr/>
" Croton,	Michigan,		\$450.00
" "	"	(Special)	445.00
" Grand Ledge,	"	(Special)	501.30
" Grand Rapids, 2d Church,	"		400.00
" "	"	(Special)	1,755.00
" Morenci,	"		500.00
" "	"	(Special)	166.00
" Mt. Morris,	"		300.00
" "	"	(Special)	126.00
" Napoleon,	"		300.00
			<hr/>
" Audubon,	Minnesota,	(Special)	\$68.00
" Cannon City,	"		300.00
" "	"	(Special)	50.00
" Detroit City,	"		500.00
" Douglas,	"		300.00
" "	"	(Special)	125.00
" Duluth,	"		500.00
" "	"	(Special)	627.00
" Excelsior,	"		400.00
" "	"	(Special)	40.00
" Glyndon,	"	(Special)	50.00
" Paynesville,	"		500.00
" "	"	(Special)	333.00
" Princeton,	"		500.00
" "	"	(Special)	462.00
			<hr/>
" Dixon,	Missouri,		\$250.00
			<hr/>
" Greenwood,	Nebraska,		\$400.00
" "	"	(Special)	763.50
" Palmyra,	"		300.00
" Syracuse, Nursery Hill Church,	"		400.00
			<hr/>
" Goshen,	New Hampshire,		\$150.00
" "	"	(Special)	264.31
			<hr/>
" Brooklyn Park Church,	New York,	(Special)	\$1,774.11
" Little Valley,	"		200.00
" Parkville,	"	(Special)	500.00
			<hr/>
" Paterson,	New Jersey,	(Loan)	\$500.00
			<hr/>
" East Toledo,	Ohio,		\$400.00
" "	"	(Special)	25.00
" Marysville,	"	(Special)	30.21
			<hr/>
			455.21
Amount carried forward			<hr/>
			\$7,150.39

\$5,228.66

4,040.30

9,226.00

4,943.30

4,755.00

250.00

1,863.50

414.31

5,474.11

500.00

455.21

\$7,150.39

<i>Amount brought forward</i>			\$37,150 39
At Philadelphia, Central Cong. Church, Pennsylvania,	(Special)	\$15,000.00	
" Knoxville,	(Special)	208.00	
			15,208.00
" Jamaica,	Vermont,	\$250.00	
" "	"	250.00	
	(Special)		500.00
" Hancock and Coloma,	Wisconsin,	\$400.00	
" Mukwonago,	"	400.00	
			800.00
" Olympia,	Washington Ter.,	(Balance)	\$154.00
			154.00
Total amount paid to fifty-six Churches,			\$53,512.39
To amount paid to Cong. Church at Altona, New Hampshire, for			
Parsonage,	(Special)		67.00
To amount paid to Pastors' Libraries,			390.90
To Salaries of officers and clerks,		\$7,881.00	
" Rent of offices, New York and Boston,		869.54	
" Office furniture and expenses,		221.83	
" Travelling expenses of Secretaries,		601.93	
" Postage, Telegrams, Express, and Stationery,		210.38	
" Printing Annual Reports and Circulars,		661.93	
" Home Missionary, for use of one page for the year,		200.00	
" Subscriptions to papers for office,		6.50	
" Life Members' Certificates,		23.35	
" Anniversary Meeting in Boston,		18.77	
			10,495.23
Balance in Treasury May 1, 1873,			\$70,625.07
Amount pledged to forty-seven Churches,		\$19,800.00	
" " in excess of funds in Treasury,		13,940.45	

We have examined the vouchers for receipts and disbursements in the annexed account and find them correct.

DWIGHT JOHNSON, } *Auditors.*
JAMES W. ELWELL, }

May 8, 1873.

SAMUEL BURNHAM.

FOR the second time, death has broken our editorial circle. On Sunday morning, June 22, Samuel Burnham fell asleep. Our readers need no testimony as to the vigor of his mind, the keenness of his wit, the breadth of his knowledge, or the kindness of his heart. All his life engaged in literary work, and particularly successful in periodical literature, he gave to the "Quarterly" his most affectionate labor. Especially many of the just but sparkling criticisms which drew to our literary review the frequent notices of the press, were from his facile hand. Although in poor health for years after his graduation at college, there was little in contemporary literature which escaped his notice, so indefatigable was his industry. The amount of work done by him while feeble in body, was marvellous. It was always done cheerfully, genially, uncomplainingly. He had regained health when he came to the "Quarterly" and he brought to it all his experience. His last work, on this number, was done only a few days before his death.

We remember with more than common sorrow, his cheerful disposition, his honorable character, and his faithful friendship.

In all his writings, we do not believe there is a single line calculated to hurt the feelings of any human being, or one inconsistent with the highest Christian principle.

A full notice of his life will appear hereafter. It is sufficient now to say that he was born in Rindge, N. H., February 21, 1833; graduated at Williams College in 1855; was then a member of the church in Rindge, of which his father, Rev. Dr. Amos W. Burnham, was so long the honored pastor; engaged at once in literary work, and continued in it, happy in the work and in a delightful home, until in Christian peace, he was suddenly called to his reward.



Engraved by H. Hall & Son 15, Fleet St. 1857

Lewis Sabin.

